915.4
Bom/Lig
38004
00038004

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018

LIGHTS AND SHADES

OF

THE EAST

LIGHTS AND SHADES

OF

THE EAST:

OR

A STUDY OF THE LIFE

OF

BABOO HARRISCHANDER;

AND

PASSING THOUGHTS ON

INDIA AND ITS PEOPLE,

THEIR PRESENT AND FUTURE.

BY

FRAMJI BOMANJI,
LATE OF THE ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE.

ALLIANCE PRESS, BOMBAY:
CHESSON & WOODHALL PRINTERS.
MDCCCLXIII.

[*The right of Translation is reserved.*]

00038004

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR HENRY EDWARD BARTLE FRERE,

K.C.B., &c. &c.,

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY,

This Work is Respectfully Dedicated,

IN HUMBLE TOKEN OF ADMIRATION,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

MANY of the following pages have already been read before the public and received the stamp of approbation, as affording a series of sketches calculated to give instruction and encouragement to the Indian Youth. What were delivered in the shape of desultory Lectures, together with the addition of hitherto undelivered sketches, having been put in a collected form and sent the round of some half-a-dozen English scholars (among whom may be named the kind and learned Rev. Drs. Wilson, Mitchell, Fraser, and G—, and K—, as particularly affording encouragement), the Author ventures to put them forth in the form of the present volume, with fear and trembling.

Indian Society has undergone some change since the latest missionary and other publications relating to it were issued; and the writer has attempted in the following pages a faithful picture of India in some of the most prominent intellectual, social, and moral bearings of the present day. The aim has been particularly kept in view to state in honest boldness the faults and discrepancies to be perceived in Native character; and as human nature is too vast for any particular description, there may seem contradictions in some places, either in the narration of existing facts, or in the hopes entertained of the future. But these contradictions may be easily reconciled by the reader, who would persuade himself to believe that the existence of defects in a portion, and even the larger portion, of the inhabitants of a country, need not necessarily dim the bright prospect of the future inspired by a recognition of the worth of the other and smaller portion.

This is the writer's first essay in English, which he has prepared only in hasty intervals of leisure from heavy studies and avocations in life; and though the MS. has been, as already noted, inspected by English scholars, the writer does not hesitate to say that, being desirous to appear in his native and independent garb, however humble and awkward it be, he has not asked any one of his English friends to add or alter aught, either to ensure correctness or perfect elegance in his work. There may, therefore, be discovered faults of taste as well as idiom and reasoning; but whatever may appear worthy of blame in the work, let the critic, when tempted to be harsh, take our inexperience into consideration, and he will learn to be lenient and unsearching. And it must never be forgotten, that writing, as the Author does, in a foreign language, acquired only in the schoolroom and the closet, born and living in a country of enervating climate,

which denies to the zealous student many a wished-for hour of active study and labour, and bred up in the midst of a society which is socially, morally, and intellectually as coldly apathetic and defective as he has described, he cannot hope to achieve any high degree of success with that favoured nation which has the noble heritage of the English language, English climate, and English institutions to claim as its own. He would therefore naturally ask to be tried by a special and much modified code in the English court of criticism.

As for his countrymen, the author is confident many will dislike his bold exposition of their faults, and some self-deluders from among them will, in some way or other, set about pulling him to pieces. But it will do them good service to remember that the first step towards advancement of any kind is a knowledge of one's defects, and if India is to be advanced, the defects in the character of

her sons must be boldly and prominently exposed. The writer's share in the work of his country's progress is doubtless intrinsically of the minutest consequence; but to himself it appears to be of great consequence—to himself it appears to be of great consequence to decide whether he lives an arrant coward, as some would wish him to be, or a true man, as he wishes to be; and, right or wrong, good or bad, this is his work, which he chanced to do, and which he has done to the best of his ability and honesty.

The author has in conclusion to acknowledge that he has when necessary availed himself of other sources of information; and to tender his best thanks for the extreme honour done to him by *most* of the greatest and most illustrious names of India, and some of the distinguished statesmen of England, appearing in his list of subscribers.

BOMBAY: *March*, 1863.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

SUNRISE AND SUNSET OF HARRIS. Page

PHILOSOPHY more liberal than the World in its estimate of character.—Baboo Harrischander appreciated more by the former than the latter.—Change in the East since the advent of the English.—Eastern and Western Prophecies relating to the Supremacy of the Europeans in India.—Lights and Shades of India.—The Scholar and the Philanthropist more needed in the East than the Historian.—The object of the treatise rather moral, and suggestive of Reform, than historical.—Picture presented by Baboo Harrischander in early life.—Contrast afforded at the close.—Stirrings in the outer world upon his Death.—A question as to his Life.—Grounds of our investigation..... 1

CHAPTER II.

HIS CAREER.

MEANING of the expression *Young India*.—Two divisions of this class always distinct but always confounded.—Exclusion of *Young India* from his proper position.—Government and Mercantile reserve.—Patricians and Plebeians in India. Danger to Government from this distinction.—Harris's misfortune under the present levelling system.—He commences as a Clerk on Rs. 10.

Page

—His removal to the Military Auditor's Office.—His strong intellect first perceived by Mr. Mackenzie and Colonel Champneys.—They aid its development. —His rise in the Office.—Commences the *Bengal Recorder* Newspaper.—Its failure.—Establishment of the *Hindoo Patriot*.—Suicidal policy of Lord Dalhousie.—The Mutinies.—Harris's manly position.—Mention of his writings and character by Mr. Norton of Madras, and Dr. Russell of the *London Times*.— Suppression of the Mutinies.—The cry of the Bengal Ryot.—Harris's unwearied exertion in his cause.—His ultimate success.—The British India Association.—Harris's services with it.—The climax of his Fortune.—His End..... 21

CHAPTER III.

INHERENT SOURCES OF HIS SUCCESS.

Inherent sources of success in life.—Poverty, the chief impulse of activity in material and intellectual attainments.—Melancholy history associated with literary life. —Allegory of Consuelo.—Harris's poverty.—His earliest avocation an incentive to his activity.—Conception of education and learning among the illiterate Natives.— Merivale's conclusion from Roman history.—Faults in the character of *Young India*.—How removed?—Hasty notions of his conduct.—Two great classes of *Young India* how distanced?—A representative of the worst class.—His career and life allegorically described.—His dejection in after-life.—His want of perfect self-reliance.—Harris prominently apart from his educated countrymen in the possession of confidence of opinion.— Cogency of feeling required to impel all internal decisions into action.—Courage required to withstand the attacks of ridicule and contempt from others.—Disraeli's bold

Page

stroke of courage on his first appearance in Parliament.—Baboo Harrischander possessed all the bolder virtues of success.—An incident in his School-life to illustrate his noble disdain of all wrong and insult..... 44

CHAPTER IV.

CAUSES OF A WANT OF THE MAINSPRINGS OF SUCCESS IN THE CHARACTER OF "YOUNG INDIA."

UTTER want of early domestic training in India.—Instances of Indian Women figuring as Authors and Poetesses of eminence.—The doctrine of Female Depravity, as propounded by the *Rishees*.—By Menu.—Woman's occupation in India.—Her daily round of labours described.—Her extreme fondness for begetting Children.—Puranas quoted.—Present Female Education in India.—Absence of all elementary information on it.—An observation of no spirit of a change being wrought over the Girls by the present system of education stated.—A scheme for the higher training of Females.—Englishmen's aversion for familiarity with the Natives in private life.—It is just and merited.—Clever Women are of greater importance to the world than clever Men.—Absence of Boarding-Schools in India.—Its pernicious effects.—Physical hardihood of an Indian more of a *forced* character than otherwise.—Strength and spirit required to uphold National Rights..... 75

CHAPTER V.

EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES BEARING ON SUCCESS IN LIFE, AND THOSE WHICH OPERATED ON HARRIS.

EXTERNAL influences from early Teachers.—The Missionary best adapted to be the Teacher of Youth.—Why, however, he is disliked in India.—His undue zeal in the propagation of his Religion.—Mr. Gaster quoted.—

Page

The passage between School and Manhood.—How is individual character determined?—Requisites in the moulding of character.—When and where is fate or destiny determined?—The preponderance of the romantic over the sober tendency ruinous.—The fate of Eugene Aram.—The critical pass in the case of Baboo Harrischander how signalised.—His "being born again." 112

CHAPTER VI.

HIS ENERGY AND AMBITION DIRECTED TO A SPECIFIC COURSE.

IMPORTANCE of a specific course of life.—Two subdivisions of the better class of *Young India*.—The worst described.—Our so-called *Savants*.—Their vanity and presumption.—Their dishonesty in essays and books.—An audacious attempt of this kind stated.—The fate of a young man who begins to work in earnest.—The daily labours of a so-called *Savant*, and men of his class.—Observations of contemptible ignorance of the most rudimentary knowledge and learning stated.—The "domestic literary treason" of the elder Disraeli.—Study pursued in India more as a means to rise than as an end in itself.—Want of earnestness and pre-calculation with *Young India* in all his undertakings.—He justly meets with the discomfiture of Alnascar.—Harris prominently distinct in his traits of character.—His pursuit of knowledge as an end, not as a means.—His remarkable zeal after learning.—His manner of spending leisure.—A remarkable scene in the mock Bengalee Temple.—Who achieves success?.. 126

CHAPTER VII.

IN WHAT RESPECTS WAS HARRIS A GREAT MAN?

A PERNICIOUS conception of greatness.—Genius and talents over-estimated by the world.—Another class of

Page

heroes.—Heroes of the heart.—Their fate.—The most apparent not always the most important or most interesting.—Profession of Literature.—Charles Lamb's advice thereon.—Peculiarly apt for *Young India* to bear in mind.—Harris's works.—Patriots of all classes have a family likeness.—Harris no less a Patriot than the greatest patriot of the world.—Harris's real staff of greatness.—The rights and position of a great mind.—Difference between it and the insignificant..... 142

CHAPTER VIII.

THE POETRY OF HIS HEART.

Feeling nature of his character.—Poverty unlocks the best sympathies of the heart.—Harris's grateful remembrance of past favours.—Emotion at mention of the name of his first kind Teacher.—His irrefragable ties of gratitude and reverence to Colonel Champneys.—His neglect of self-interest and advancement for the sake of the Colonel.—Harris and Rammohun Roy.—Military glory and valour not wanting in India even in her degenerate days.—Her intellectual vigour yet unsurpassed.—Social battle is the last achievement of humanity.—India has yet to fight it.—Harris did not commence it.—Nor has it yet commenced.—The Social Science Association in England.—A similar Institution for India recommended.—Necessity for Educated Natives travelling in India.—An "Indian Travelling Fellowship."—Natives alone capacitated to describe social anomalies..... 152

CHAPTER IX.

THE LONGEST, BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT CHAPTER IN THE BOOK: REGENERATION OF INDIA.

Two theories for the amelioration of the people.—Which preferred.—Danger from the present hopeless condition

Page

of the people.—The Empires of the World.—Of the Cæsars, Baber, and Napoleon.—Uniqueness of British domination.—The present time pre-eminently fitted for undertaking the task of Popular Education in India.—Review of the History of Indian Education.—Its three epochs.—Government System of Education faulty.—Distinction between general and special education.—Every man, however low and grovelling, receives all life long some education or other.—In India there is in one sense no general education.—Percentage of boys that finish a complete course of general instruction.—A mournful question.—Necessity of rendering Colleges self-supporting.—Grounds for viewing the measure as easy of accomplishment.—Percentage of boys receiving elementary education.—The state of this education.—Number of Schools in the Bombay Presidency.—Statistics of Population in the different divisions of British India.—The educational requirements of each calculated in comparison with some of the States of Europe.—With reference to Primary Schools.—With reference to Teachers.—Unfitness of the present Staff even in the highest English Seminary.—The number of Normal Colleges and of Inspectors required.—The people too poor to join the Schools.—Their popular notions on Englishmen's leaving India for their Mother Country.—Great misapprehension among Englishmen with reference to the wants of the people.—Advocacy of the German method of popular instruction.—Striking resemblance in the state of Germany and of India.—Our present system of education not essentially differing from the German, though so popularly taken.—Mere Schools and School Training ineffectual to work any change among the people.—The French *Colportage* described.—Establishment of a Committee for the diffusion of knowledge advocated.—The present state of Prose and Poetry in the Vernacular.—The es-

Page

tablishment of Clubs advocated.—What is our present national strength and vigour?—A new order of thought and morality, as yet unknown to the world, evolved in India.—A Summary of our Scheme..... 170

CHAPTER X.

REGENERATION OF INDIA—ANOTHER MEANS.

The two classes of writers on India.—Two dangers to India.—The difficulties of making a successful stand in the Punjab against the Russians stated.—Confidence and a feeling of Patriotism more requisite on the defensive line of operations, than strength and discipline.—Warlike tribes of Upper India, and their ambition.—The only measure to avert the danger is Colonisation.—Colonisation of two sorts.—That which we ask for India different from all colonisations to America and Australia, and beneficial to India only.—The presence of the English Settlers also beneficial, in checking all abuse of official power in the interior.—English settlement will enhance our crops and resources.—Art wholly wanting in the Native Peasant.—Anglo-Saxon zeal for improvement.—The Anglo-Indian Government worse than the Roman and Mahomedan, in their zeal for public works of utility.—Difference between Calcutta and Delhi or Agra.—All extensive conquests preserved by Colonisation.—English settlement peculiarly beneficial to *Young India*.—Rights will then be more liberally granted. A question to *Young India*.—England's mission in India threefold..... 282

CHAPTER XI.

A CHAPTER OF NONSENSE, IF IT BE SO UNDERSTOOD. THE FUTURE OF INDIA IN THE EAST.

England's capacity for foreign acquisition and colonisation compared with other mighty powers of Europe.—With

Page

Italy.—With Spain.—With Portugal.—With Holland.—With France.—The Anglo-Saxon Colony carries away all other Colonies before it.—The finger of God traced in the progress of the British in the East.—The tendency and course of the Empires of the World.—Civilisation not likely to end in America.—It is returning to the land of its birth.—Dr. Arnold's theory of Civilisation examined and refuted.—The prospect of another and mightier Civilisation.—It will commence from India.—Our grounds for so supposing.—Bright future for *Young India*.—His future Religion..... 299

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND THE EAST CONTINUED.

Dr. Arnold's view of History not wholly desponding.—Guizot's just discernment of History.—The grounds of Dr. Arnold's theory.—His opponents.—Mr. Greg in England, and the Author of "Lectures on Man" in America.—Their advocacy of Negro civilisation.—Their errors not essentially differing from Dr. Arnold.—Exposed on an historical survey.—Twofold tendency of Arabian Civilisation.—Greek, Roman, and Modern European Civilisation Arian in origin.—Celts and Teutons of Europe.—Their stream of Emigration from Asia.—Arians never found as a fishing or hunting tribe.—Distinction between Arabian or Mogul progress and that of the Arian nations.—Freedom only enjoyed by the Arians.—A glorious page always to be found in the history of the Arian nations.—Capability of degeneracy among the Arians.—The superior prerogative of the Arians even in the lowest state of civilisation.—Supposed influence of the climate insufficient to account for the intellectual and moral differences among races.—Influences of Government and religion also insufficient

Page

on this score.—Individual exceptions always to be found among the Arian tribes and Negro races.—Third ground of our theory.—The origin of all differences amongst the Arians and other races, especially the Negro, to be traced in the unfathomable plan of Providence.—Civilisation has been running Westward during the last three thousand years.—It is now in the extreme West of the world.—In the usual tendency it must hence come Eastward.—India is the only country to receive it.—Characteristics of modern civilisation.—Anomalies of modern civilisation.—Can the present be the latest stage of human destiny?—Three principal causes of our social anomalies.—Supposition of the present exhaustion of all human capability insufficient to disprove future progress.—How every science and art may be considerably advanced without supposing our capability being at all increased, or the force and scope of the action of our mind enlarged.—We are not chimerical in our speculations..... 321

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION.

End of the Work.—The Author plainly perceives its defects.—But a first essay is always defective.—The two parts of the Work.—The lessons of both.—India's time for regeneration.—Every individual has a share in the work of regeneration.—It must be fulfilled in spite of all opposition and slander..... 371

Appendix A..... 377

Appendix B..... 380

LIGHTS AND SHADES.

CHAPTER I.

SUNRISE AND SUNSET OF HARRIS.

PHILOSOPHY more liberal than the World in its estimate of character.—Baboo Harrischander appreciated more by the former than the latter.—Change in the East since the advent of the English.—Eastern and Western Prophecies relating to the Supremacy of the Europeans in India.—Lights and Shades of India.—The Scholar and the Philanthropist more needed in the East than the Historian.—The object of the treatise rather moral, and suggestive of Reform, than historical.—Picture presented by Baboo Harrischander in early life.—Contrast afforded at the close.—Stirrings in the outer world upon his Death.—A question as to his Life.—Grounds of our investigation.

> "I, demens, et sœvas curre per Alpes
> Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias?"
>
> JUVENAL.

IT has been rightly observed, that the world is by no means the right discerner of worth. Not that it deliberately awards praise where only censure is due; and whatever errors it may be led into at the onset, its judgment is in time

so nicely balanced that philosophy has seldom found cause to reverse, however much it may qualify, the sentence passed by the world. But it is nevertheless not sufficiently fair in its standard of selection, inasmuch as it is precisely of "the world, worldly." Obtain success in the cabinet, perpetrate an inhuman slaughter on the field, or shine out publicly in literary quackism, and the world is ready to pour forth applause with all its vehemence and adulation; but pass an entire life in the labours of quiet benevolence, rescuing hundreds and thousands from "the ills that flesh is heir to," or the ills their own misguidance and circumstances, or the misguidance and circumstances of their forefathers, have subjected them to, and the world is prone to be indifferent and silent. The statesman, the warrior, and the poet have their praises and their testimonials, because their's is the apparent merit: but the humbler patriot, who has quietly worked for the political advancement of his country; and the silent philanthropist, who has devoted his life to the promotion of the happiness or alleviation of the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, have neither the recognition nor the reward of greatness from the world—not, certainly, as truly undeserving,

but as greatly passing its own conception of greatness. But narrow as the world is in this respect, philosophy is liberal enough; so that while it allows the heroes of the world their merited meed, it also concedes due honour and admiration to those quiet heroes of the heart who appeal the most earnestly, because the least pretentiously, to its regard. If the worth of these is not according to the common appreciation of mankind, it is still according to the appreciation of those philosophic minds that in their recognition would ask for something worthier and nobler than outward show. And if the world neglects them, it is much to their taste, as their's is the pleasure to contemn all popular applause in the silent approval of their hearts. Of such noble worth there are but few illustrations, but from amongst these few it were hard to find a greater name for India than that of BABOO HARRISCHANDER—a name prominently distinguished by services which the world neglects, and philosophy loves to honour with becoming regard.

The State of India is certainly far better now than of yore. The ignorance and intolerance of Mahomedan times have vanished, and we have a change mighty in results, and

mightier still in prospect, coming over the country under the benign influence of British domination; and there has now sprung up a class of men who, without purse or power, are more influential than the greatest warrior in olden days. We refer to the educated men of our country, who are not, like all influential men of some centuries past, "blind leaders of the blind"; not men whose influence, whenever they have any, may be seen only in the triumphs of the field or the chicaneries of the court,—but men, who command more without either of these graces, by the mental light they enjoy; men, whose power is only in the evocation of the breath or the stroke of the pen. There are traditions in this land which perhaps none has yet attended to with due concern—that the East will be completely changed by a nation from the west; and the tenth avatar of Vishnu, a man on a white horse, so current among the prophecies of the sacred Brahmanical writings, must be looked upon to typify the advent of the English in India. Statesmen vainly look upon the Anglo-Indian empire as an accident, something that will not last long; and though events like the Mutinies of 1857 frequently give to that expres-

sion a significance it can never otherwise bear, the prophecy of the West, "Japhet shall dwell in the tents of Shem," and the prophecy of the East relating the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, a man on a white horse, coming from the West and destroying everything Brahmanical,* render it imperative on us to accept, however reluctantly, that European supremacy in Asia is one of the permanent conditions of the world. When we consider the darkness of former times, the slavish reverence to authority, its abuse, its adulteries, and its vicious acts in every instance, and the superstitious awe of religious guides, in spite of their lies, deceptions, and crimes, we may well conceive that He who sits King among nations has most wisely ordained that the East shall be lorded over by the West. If there is anywhere inscribed, in modern times, with special truth, "*Ichabod!*" it is upon Eastern imbecility and utter darkness; and we have got among us now a class of young men moral in tone, vigorous in character, and intellectual in attainments, in whom centre the hopes of families,

* The writer of these pages is not aware whether this prophecy has been dealt upon in its significance by any author, but if not, he does not see why he should not on his part.

of churches, of the entire nation, of futurity itself. These are destined to convert the whole country into a moral, healthy, and vigorous being, to dispel its present *darkness* and bring forth *light;* who shall illuminate not only their own country, but, as we shall show hereafter, the whole of the East, and even perhaps the World, by developing a new and more healthy civilisation than the European. We predict a glorious future for these men; they are as *lights*, created by the advent of English civilisation: "few and far between," we readily admit; but yet lights to illuminate this land of darkness and error, and, in time, also the East; and though night yet broods thickly and extensievly here, we may say, without any inspiration of prophetic discernment, that "*the morning cometh.*" But while thus cheerfully according its due meed, we must never forget that this subject has *shades* as well as *lights.* The state of our young countrymen has much to cause a gloom as well as exhilaration in the heart: the many defects in their character, their want of energy, fixedness of purpose, and determinate zeal—so apparent, that he who runs may read them—require as much to be weighed in the balance of calculation as their greatness

and their lustre. Their mission is noble, and their destiny glorious; but before this goal is attained, the *shades* in their character must be well observed and carefully replaced by rays of *light:* and the object of the following pages has been an earnest exposition of a change in this direction. Some characters have already been well redeemed; and pre-eminent among these stands undoubtedly the late Baboo Harrischander. In all respects save one, which we will point out in its proper place, this Baboo approaches to a just conception of what an educated young Native should be—what that *light* of India, without the accompanying *shades*, must be, that is to shed a halo of lustre in the wide East; and it is by examples like his that we would enforce our lessons of instruction. The career and the success that were his may be those of any one who chalks them out for himself; and as our object is not so much narration as moral instruction, we will more fully consider in our pages what conspired to produce this career and this success, rather than describe with nicety; and record, with humour if we can, the incidents of the Baboo's useful life.

India is a vast field for the scholar to reflect,

and the philanthropist to exert, upon, and either renders more durable service to God and mankind by his honest exertions, than the historian, who vividly records; and in this circumstance we hope will be found an apology for the change in our title,* and for our entering more into an exposition of circumstances at present completely paralysing the spirit of the country, and cramping the energies of its rising generation, than a bare narration, with a philosophic dissertation here and there only of facts and incidents—the staple materials of dull and unprofitable biography. Indeed, all history is subjective; and he who made the shrewd observation that "there is properly no history but biography," full well anticipated that biographies should be what we would, in our humble way, exhibit in the following pages. The world certainly exists for the education of each individual; and there is no age, society, or action in history, to which there is not something corresponding in his own individual life: what Plato has thought, he may think; what Jesus has felt, he may feel; what has befallen Cæsar, he may

* The title of this discourse, as it at first stood, was "The Life of Baboo Harrischander, as affording a useful study for young Natives."

understand even as true of himself. Every individual, as he reads, becomes Greek, Roman, Persian, and Arab; philosopher, priest, and prophet; patriot, warrior, and villain;—or he reads nothing, and learns nothing. If all history, then, though not expressly written so, is read, and ought to be read, with a view to individual education, individualising general facts and generalising individual experiences, the reader will understand us when, in inviting him to these pages, we invite him especially to imitate Baboo Harrischander; invite him to be the educated Native, of whom Baboo Harrischander was so honorable a specimen; invite him alike with the Indian peasant and member of the dull and torpid mass of population for whom Baboo Harrischander fought so bravely and manfully; and invite him also to appreciate the British Government and the British people, whom, though on certain occasions he blamed bitterly, Baboo Harrischander esteemed and admired sincerely. The treatise under these circumstances necessarily becomes unmethodical to a certain extent; but we shall attempt to give to it a systematic arrangement, leaving it to the kindness of our critics to suggest improvements for our future guidance, and divid-

ing it for the present into two parts, the first treating of Baboo Harrischander, and the second containing passing thoughts on the present and future of our country.

But *à propos* of the immediate subject of our discourse, we must, to allow of a just appreciation of his merited greatness, say that he has evidently two disadvantages. In the first place, he lived with us; and every subject, it will readily be acknowledged, in order to lend a more vivid and lively interest, requires to be shaded by the twilight of remoter times. Delille, by no means a critic of ordinary powers, suggested the defect of that masterpiece of the Revolutionary times—the *Henriade*—by saying that "it was too near to the eye and the age"; and it has been remarked with much vehemence that Milton might, with far greater effect, have thrown his angelic warfare into a remoter perspective. We cannot with conviction say why, but so it is, that Napoleon storming the stronghold of Presburg, and Havelock surveying his straitened position within the enclosures of Lucknow, influence us with fainter emotions than Brutus musing in his tent at Philippi, or Henry bearing down upon the desperate troops of the French Charles at Agincourt. And so

it must be, that the man who died only a year past, leaving the effects of his patriotism and greatness as yet only half-perceived, must suffer in the interest and acknowledgment of his just merits. And secondly, it must be admitted, as we have already hinted, that he has not, unfortunately, shown himself sufficiently great, in the worldly conception of greatness, to deserve of a notice such as we would claim for him: he has not been a king or conqueror; nor even a poet, historian, or novelist—he wrote nothing in which we may

> "At intervals descry
> Gleams of the glory, streaks of flowing light,
> Openings of Heaven."

But yet, the friend of the poor, the mentor of the rich, the spokesman, the patriot, the brave heart that defied danger and opposition in the strife for settling the politics of his country, enchains our affections and sympathies in proportion as he was really little in the estimation of the world, and great in the truly philosophic sense of greatness, by rendering his life *useful* in one continued scene of charity, benevolence, and uprightness.

Harris was born in 1824 A. D. The second son of a Koolin Brahmin, in absolute begga-

ry, or with just perhaps a shade or two less than what was required by professional strictness, he was confided to the fondness of a maternal uncle to be reared and educated. Of course this cost the latter nothing; because the infant was to live on coarse rice—such as required, by way of expense, only the despicable pittance of not more than about three rupees a month, and vegetables such as were got for the begging. This infant, preserved in penury and beggary, grows up in time, not, like those of his class, a meek, alms-seeking boy, but bold and impetuous, and rather of a violent and domineering disposition. He had been torn from the bosom of his parents at a very early age, and his adoptive father permitted the greatest indulgence in him, lest he should feel dissatisfied with his relations; every one near him, therefore—uncle, aunt, neighbours and all,—had to yield obedience to the pet child, who thus felt himself rather encouraged "to play the little tyrant," and was not, we should suppose, unwilling to try the character on occasions. This bold, impetuous child grew in time into a boy in *digoji*, and his education was then to be considered. Fortunately, this was even cheaper than his men-

dicant living; for it cost the beggar father absolutely nothing. He was installed as a charity-boy of the *Bhowaneepore Union School*, an insignificant village seminary, which subsisted on the philanthropy of a few benevolent officials. Here his character changed; his impetuosity still remained, but his sense of the moral dignity of man increased. He devoted his attention and energies to the cultivation of his faculties, and studied with the facility of a precocious boy, mastering every subject of his curriculum to the extent of his tutors' capacity to teach, and displaying a spirit thorough-going through every task; sifting, instead of passively receiving—a baneful characteristic, only too general among us—everything that came to his mind right and left, and suggesting difficulties and cross-questionings so awkward, that one of his Native teachers, it is said, always stood in dread of the shrewd-minded pupil. But the pupil who could take in all in so comprehensive a grasp of the mind as to master his *varied* studies, whose progress attracted the regard and attention of the head European Master, and whose shrewdness and intelligence confounded the Native tutor, and often put him to the blush by the correct-

ness of his explanation and analysis against the authoritative interpretation of passages, was not destined to finish his education—not destined to go beyond the meagre elements of a charity-school, and come in contact with those elevated and refined minds who are capacitated to take us to

"Drink deep, not merely taste the Piræan spring."*

The boy could not hold himself out longer in school: the means of support at home were very scant and precarious; the cry for bread became urgent and piteous; and he humanely determined to sacrifice his *embellishments* to the *natural wants* of a starving family. He left his school at the early age of thirteen—when the faculties are said just to commence developing,—to dash himself into the world, for the purpose of supplying his own and a beloved family's animal wants; though it must at the same time be borne in mind, that, with the school, as he subsequently proved to the world, he did not leave his books. When he left the school, to procure a livelihood, he begged for a common clerkship everywhere that he could persuade himself to hope for one; but he found

* Pope, with a verbal alteration.

no charity in men to respond to his dutiful endeavours; and wherever he applied he had the mortification to find his merit, learning, and school-passport ridiculed and rejected by heads and assistants, who were always found to be guided in their selection by stiff-necked old *kerance* subordinates, who had slowly risen to position and fortune by the help of neither. The only passport then, as even now, to any situation, however mean, was a letter of recommendation. But poor Harris, born of beggarly parents, was as beggarly, as concerned that contemptible but indispensable commodity, as his parents. He was therefore obliged to betake himself to the business, as vicarious as uncertain, of drawing up petitions, letters, bills, &c., which brought him, no doubt, a stray rupee now and then, but it could not certainly be sufficient to give to him his livelihood; and he became desperate in position. On one unfortunate day, when he had not a grain of rice in his house for a simple dinner, and the call of nature could not be unattended to, he thought, poor soul, of mortgaging a brass plate to buy his simple fare. It was raining hard and furious, and there was no umbrella to go out under. Pensive and sad did the famished youth sit in the

house, meditating upon his unfortunate lot—not, however, without a full reliance in the providence of Him who oversees the needy wants of all, providing with an unsparing hand for the poor and the destitute. *He* looked down upon Harris, sitting alone and grievous, and rescued the unfortunate victim of cruel fate from sheer starvation, by sending to him, just in the very nick of time, the *mookhtyar* of a rich *zemindar* with a document for translation. The fee was but two rupees—but it was a god-send: like the manna in the wilderness to the wandering Israelites, it proved to be the providential supplying of his pressing wants; and Harris, receiving it, offered up his thanks to Him who had so mysteriously saved his life, feeling at once the full truth of those trite but wholesome lines—

> "For young and old, the stout, the poorly,
> The eye of God be on them surely."

But leaving this scene of early penury and wretchedness, we will now turn to the latter end of his life—to within a year of the present time, to June 1861. Let us imagine ourselves placed before the residence of a Baboo gentleman—a Calcutta mansion in Bhowaneepore, a mansion with a decent verandah and look-out; with its

spacious halls and tall stories, decked out with mirrors, and glasses, and chandeliers, and carpets, with all the other signs of the respectable social position of its possessor. We will draw near, enter, and observe; and we find all our expectations from the outer appearance realised in the substance, elegance, and refinement within, with even a shade or two more, displaying talents, accomplishments, and patriotism. But where are we? Are we in the social parade and joy of a rich Native family? No!—hush, and walk gently; for we are in the very midst of the dark shadows of death, and are drawing nigh the chamber of a dying man! The master, the life and soul of the spacious mansion, is drawing his last breath. His family and friends are near him; the doctors are sent for, but to no avail; and the hand that moved so powerfully before, in struggles for the whole country, now falls motionless. The pulse sinks down; and he is lulled into sleep. All is over! The spirit has gone—gone to the bosom of its Maker, to regain its freedom from the temporary lease of the nether world; and there it is, in holy communion with the Father, who is in heaven, enjoying full felicity for a life of love and labour—love to God above and labour

towards alleviating the sufferings of His creatures on earth—men.

But now we will leave the house, and the dark scene within it, and observe the subsequent events passing in the world outside. The death of this man is an event of national interest. He is spoken of in the newspapers, English and Native, as one who had passed a life of love and energy; whose heart was set on rescuing the helpless ryot from oppression and cruelty, and protecting the nation from a political thraldom which was only too ready to overtake them; whose name, in one word, was identified with whatever was of constitutional opposition to abuse of power and prostitution of influence; and whose death, therefore, is painfully announced as a calamity that will be deplored from one end of the country to the other. His memory is honoured with public notices: the *Phœnix*, the ablest of the Calcutta English journals, opens its columns in eulogy, and hopes that "the memory of such a man cannot be allowed to pass away with the present generation," and is glad "to see his Native friends bestirring themselves suitably in the matter." The hint is taken; subscriptions are set on foot in different parts of the

country—Calcutta, Delhi, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras; numbers of all ranks, poor as well as rich, Englishmen as well as Natives, join willingly in honouring his memory. And there he is!—the raw beggar-boy of 1824, who was bred up in a charity-school, and left it in utter poverty; who found himself rejected and ridiculed wherever he sought for an opening in life, and who felt the necessity of contenting himself in the mean berth of a copyist on ten or twelve rupees a month at a common auctioneer's—transformed into the well-known, intelligent, public man, whose loss is reverberated in sorrow as a national blow through the entire country; the hero, who stands as a public monument, to live, to attract the admiring gaze of generations yet unborn!

These are the two contrasts presented by Baboo Harrischander to the reflective mind, at the beginning and at the close of his life. His name is yet fresh—the sad event is only recent; and his deeds and his name, still resounding throughout the country, are held in grateful remembrance. There is yet much blowing of trumpets, much noise; we are deafened somewhat by the din. But is his career worthy of imitation?

Boldly yes!—Baboo Harris is worthy of imitation.

But in investigating the grounds for this opinion, we must consider—1*st*, what he *did?* 2*nd*, what were the *internal* circumstances of his life that led him to achieve the aim of his ambition? 3*rd*, what were the *external* circumstances that helped him in his life? 4*th*, what deductions are we to draw from a study of his life? 5*th*, how exemplify them in *our* lives? —with other circumstances of interest, connected with *the requirements of our country and the duties of our Government*, that may, in passing, be evolved in our consideration of each of these investigations. Some of these heads we will pursue distinctly, and even with vehemence and force; and others, especially the two last, only cursorily—these being left to the reader for distinct elaboration.

CHAPTER II.

HIS CAREER.

MEANING of the expression *Young India*.—Two divisions of this class always distinct but always confounded.—Exclusion of *Young India* from his proper position.—Government and Mercantile reserve.—Patricians and Plebeians in India. Danger to Government from this distinction.—Harris's misfortune under the present levelling system.—He commences as a Clerk on Rs. 10.—His removal to the Military Auditor's Office.—His strong intellect first perceived by Mr. Mackenzie and Colonel Champneys.—They aid its development.—His rise in the Office.—Commences the *Bengal Recorder* Newspaper.—Its failure.—Establishment of the *Hindoo Patriot*.—Suicidal policy of Lord Dalhousie.—The Mutinies.—Harris's manly position.—Mention of his writings and character by Mr. Norton of Madras, and Dr. Russell of the *London Times*.—Suppression of the Mutinies.—The cry of the Bengal Ryot.—Harris's unwearied exertion in his cause.—His ultimate success.—The British India Association. —Harris's services with it.—The climax of his Fortune.—His End.

WHAT did Harris do? Why the events of the life and career of a clever or talented young Indian under the British Government can be neither many nor remarkable. And here we are tempted to enter into a long dissertation on the hopes and aspirations of "Young India,"

and the cruel bars that cramp their energies and exertions; but while reserving that for some future occasion, to be dealt with at sufficient length and according to its intrinsic importance, it is considered advisable here to touch on the subject in a cursory manner.

"Young India," the name whereby the rising generation of this country has been designated, is an expression of such ambiguity and vagueness that some use it sneeringly of the enlightened generation, as expressive of the low habits and tastes which are to be seen in a certain class of our young countrymen; while others, in their application of it, connote some of those bright traits of mental and moral worth associated with the character of the rising generation. Used so differently, it has been a matter of doubt whether the name is expressive of contempt or praise. The fact, however, is, "Young India," instead of being one class, comprehensible under one description, consists of two grand classes, as distinct from each other as they could be wished or made. These classes have nothing common in them save their young age, which is neither's work, while in character and bearing, they stand so distinct as to answer nicely the contrariety of interpre-

tation. There is the young gentleman of good education and morals, and there is the young gentleman of the insolent and fast-going race; there is the young generation with diplomas and medals from colleges and universities, and there is the young generation with only impudence to surpass its ignorance; there is the "Young India" of books and work, and there is the "Young India" of the bottle and dice; and were a distinction so wide always maintained, neither would the one class be unmeritedly censured, nor the other unnecessarily praised.

The first class certainly presents a bright picture for India; for if he has any fault, it is perhaps in his acquiring too great a preference of English taste and feelings. It is well that it is so; and Young India would ere long have occupied his proper position under a more liberal and enlightened Government. At present, however, while he acquires all the essentials of action, his ambition is cribbed, cabined and confined within a narrow sphere after an anomalous fashion. For what is all education but the means of preparing for a sphere of action; and where is the sphere of action for Young India? Government patronage is so exclusive and mean, that he is debarred from

rising by any high attainments or distinguished merit beyond a certain rank in the public service—and that rank below what even the veriest dunce of a civil or uncovenanted servant may in the commencement of his career generally attain. Government may admit frankly enough the learning, efficiency, and even good faith of Young India, but they would not raise him to the rank of exercising this learning, efficiency, and good faith, lest little Johnny or Tommy, now dandling in his mamma's arms, or in the play-ground at home, remain unprovided for in future, and have, Iago-like, to grin—

"The lusty Moor hath jumped into my seat!"

And the mercantile communities—both Native and European,—composed for the most part of men who have learnt arithmetic well enough to calculate the highest percentage of profit with the least possible distribution, have the selfishness of Government before them to exclude Young India from rising to their own level of wealth and importance. Thus excluded on all sides, Young India finds his education and intelligence "fust" in subordinate spheres of usefulness, which neither excite his ambition nor feed his intellect. And thus some are

engaged as schoolmasters, drudging life through in a wearisome and unremunerative task ; some are employed as editors, reporters, and writers of pamphlets and books, disseminating Western civilisation, with pockets empty of the last rupee and minds full of the most recent ideas; some manage their own or paternal small farms and estates, with notions formed and matured on state-policy and government; many are bankers. and petty dealers of commerce; and many more are sunk in the drudgery of clerkship, plodding through life on a salary of Rs. 50 or 80 a month—with heads full of Bacon and conic sections! A position like this is but a temptation to Young India to pervert his education, to misrepresent the Government, if not actually to resist it. As the German proverb runs—"The school is good, the world is bad"; —the school affords an ample field to Young India for the exercise of his natural acumen, but when he is out of it, the world at once blunts it, and this is as doubly heart-rending to him as losing what one has once laboured to acquire and perfect. Had the Native mind been curbed after the fashion of an Austrian or Papal Government, it would have been one thing, and the British Government would have

seemed consistent with the meanness of Native exclusion from posts of emolument and dignity; but after having educated the Young Indian, and then to deny him all exercise of his education, is to inflict a cruel wrong, which is excusable neither on the score of justice and fair dealing nor that of evil consistency. One of the witnesses of the troubles of 1857, in his evidence before the Parliament, stated, "I found it to be a general rule, that where you had an OFFICIAL well educated at our English colleges, and conversant with our English tongue, there you had a friend, upon whom reliance could be placed."* And yet there is a line of complete demarcation established in all British India, as dangerous and demeaning as that in France before the Revolution. We have here, in one sense, the defective position of only two classes, without the intermediate one to serve as a connecting-link between them; it is the recurrence of the old order of patricians and plebeians of the Roman world—English sojourners and even Eurasian members playing the first, and the entire mass of the Indian people the unfortunate other. It was this distinction which proved too dangerous to the Romans to be tolerated longer than barely

* C. Raikes, Judge of the Chief Court of Agra.

two hundred years; and precipitated the Revolution when France resolved upon its revival. Though Alison, with his shrewd perception, failed to recognise it, it has not the less been seen, that the great feature of the French Revolution was simply that it *was a rebellion against class-legislation.* It is, however, not to be denied that he half perceived it, when, in the enumeration, in all their enormity, of a host of oppressions, sufficient to have driven even wise men mad, as the proximate causes that precipitated the Revolution, he felt it to be a grievous wrong: —"On the one side were 150,000 privileged individuals, on the other the whole body of the French people. All situations of importance in the church, the army, the court, the bench, or diplomacy, were exclusively enjoyed by the former of these classes." Who will deny that this is *literally* the case in India, where the Natives are shut out from all avenues of preferment—now open only to the few English adventurers? A system of such transcendant egotism—a system which, in a population of a hundred and fifty millions, reserves all the loaves and fishes of the State for a few thousand favourites of the alien race—does, without doubt, imperatively call for a total reconstruction; and this, if not attend-

ed to in time, will, at no very distant date, as History unerringly teaches, give rise to a revolution, the basest enormities of which will be redeemed by its being the struggle only of *man* against *nobleman*. But as it is for the present, the most intelligent of the Indians, astutely denied every career, cannot rise from his desk or cutcherry to administer a province, lead an army to a glorious victory, or rivet attention, even when he does not persuade, in a State council. The genius of an Akbar, and the talents of an Abul Fazul or an Anvari, are, under the present levelling system, wrecked in the process of quill-driving, book-keeping, or thief-catching! And Harris, having had the ill luck of being born and bred up under it, commenced as a common clerk on Rs. 10, and culminated as an Assistant Military Auditor!

Well, but what did Harris do, under all the disadvantages of his position? Why, in the first place, he left school, as every man does, and obtained employment at the late Messrs. Tulloh & Co.'s auction-rooms, at Rs. 10 per month. After some time he begged for promotion, and a couple of rupees more were thought quite adequate to his abilities. His wants were yet

pressing, and he anxiously applied for three rupees more, earnestly representing his miserable condition to his employers, and praying for a salary of Rs. 15 a month, which sum he believed, and declared with an honesty truly admirable, would put him quite above want. But he was cruelly refused. He was in the auctioneers' rooms, where many little odds and ends lay about, perfectly unnoticed; and these might, under the circumstances, have afforded to many a one a tempting opportunity for revenge on the stinginess of his employers, could he have descended to profit himself thereby; but though Harris's heart was ready to burst at the abjectness of his position, his conscience warned him of the fatality he would attach to himself if he ever preferred vice to honesty, and he determinately spurned every base artifice for support. The cry of want at home, however, not only remained as pressing, but grew more grievous every day; he thought of it with distress—nature worked in his bosom. Reflection defined his choice; and he resolved to leave his merciless masters, to seek out some other employment, cost what it might. It was during some month in 1848 that a vacancy was announced at the Military Auditor General's Office: the pay

was Rs. 25 monthly, and the competitors many in number. An examination was, fortunately, to determine the selection. A theme and an arithmetical problem carried the day for Harris, and he was inducted, to the envy of all but himself, into the energy-destroying *keranydom*. Poor fellow—he was for many months pinned to a three-legged desk, and a broken chair, in this State office; but instead of grumbling, Harris, with the contentment of every great mind, solaced himself with the thought that that arrangement was infinitely better than his own crossed legs, on which he, like other Bengalees, was accustomed to write! He worked with earnestness, and studiously endeavoured to give satisfaction. His immediate superior found in him intelligence and shrewdness far above an ordinary clerk, and introduced him to the notice of the Deputy Military Auditor General, Colonel Champneys, who at once recognised in his common quill-driver energy and abilities of an uncommon sort. He was now promoted from one post to another; and it was through the sheer force of his intellect that he rose to the Assistant Military Auditorship, which was, until his installation, a preserve for European and Eurasian candi-

dates only. Unquestionably, with respect to his advancement and worldly position, Harris won the great and honorable testimony of being the absolute *founder* of his own fortune: like that illustrious Roman, who owed nothing to his ancestors—*videtur ex se natus*,—he sprang from nothing and *made* himself.

The Bhowaneepore Charity School-boy was now converted into a high official in Calcutta, drawing a salary of Rs. 400 month, and with respect and honour constantly increasing abroad. His entry into the Military Auditor General's Office was an event marked out in his life, as having touched the sources of that power and strength which distinguished his after career. He was inducted into *keranydom*, the atmosphere of which region is suffocating; but fortunately for Harris, aye and for India herself, it did not and could not stifle, though it might and must have hampered, his keen intellect.

But, while engaged in the mechanical labours of his mean profession, his genius found its way out, and betrayed itself to his superiors. One of them readily recognised it, and encouraged its development. He lent him books, both from his own collection and from the *Cal-*

cutta Public Library, and he read them all with the enthusiasm of a student, and the reflection of a *literateur*. His knowledge and learning, now extensive, tended to press its way out, and in 1849 he commenced, with a friend, the *Bengal Recorder*. That was but the trial. *Like every first trial, it failed;* and success as a writer was reserved for Harris only in the columns of the *Hindoo Patriot*, which rose some time after, like the Phœnix of old, out of the ashes of the *Recorder*. The time was opportune for the starting up of this journal. The Anglo-Indian Government had sunk low: there was nothing more than the policy of aggression, spoliation, and confiscation, characterising their administration. Sattara, Surat, Nagpore, Oude, Tanjore, and the Carnatic were all spoliated, one after another, in the short space of eight years, under the Yankee euphemism of "Annexation." It was a sort of plunder by a public character—by the highest representative of England in the East, in his *public* capacity; from the bare thought of which he, guided by the influence of the spirit of his Christianity, and that of the moral infantine breeding of his country, would shrink, we are perfectly sure, as a *private* individual. Lord

Dalhousie (peace to his ashes!) was a self-willed man; he held the creed in his time that "he," to use his own words, "cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself, for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them, for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which never can, I venture to think, be a source of strength, for adding to the resources of the public treasury, and for extending the uniform application of our system of government to those whose best interests, we believe, will be promoted thereby." This was the key to his lordship's policy of annexation. He thought, perhaps, in his dreamy imagination, that the English rule was a blessing, and that it should at all events be made universal in India; and thus, no scruple of conscience ever turned him with disgust from all barefaced violations of the principles of honesty and good faith; or, if he ever felt a kind of remorse, it was of that fleeting kind of "holy humour," which the Bard of Avon tell us, in his "Richard the Third," of him who annexed

Clarence—it "was wont to hold him but while one could count twenty." Consolidation was the policy, territory the grand object.

"Si possis recte, si non, quocunque modo rem."

And a pursuance of these suicidal State-politics told more on the Indian nation than all the past just and benevolent actions of Government put together, and produced the most pernicious results. The confidence in the good faith and honesty of the British people, so wholesome to the prospects of both nations, was at once destroyed; the remaining Native princes took alarm for the safety of their territory; and the soldiery was roused by passion to make a bold stand against the ruin of their ancient dynasties: so that when this all-absorbing but never-satiated ambition lay its hand on Oude, where every family, as Sir James Outram said, had at least one representative in the Bengal army, Government laid the train to that extremity of indignation, which burst forth so terribly in the Rebellion of 1857. Then were committed those atrocities extreme passion and social risings are apt to perpetrate; which, though they have an excuse in history, so lenient in its judgment, shock humanity even at

this distant hour, and which then blinded the judgment of that most patiently reasoning and practical nation of the British Isles, and shut up, by the enormity of their heinousness, every avenue of their mercy and humanity. Enraged and blinded, the English nation lost their wonted discernment, and confounding the small band of an infuriated soldiery with the mass of a nation, unjustly called aloud for immediate and indiscriminate vengeance against the entire population of India. Harris knew the hour was imperative; he took his stand-point as a fearless champion between the people and the shrieking portion of the English public; all that was noble and all that was little in him now subordinated itself to his grand object: he boldly denounced the annexation-policy, which alone had brought ruin and disaster to Government, set his face vehemently against the bullying opposition and vituperation of the Indian nation, and, exhorting his countrymen to rally round the British banner, triumphantly cried out for—*Justice to India!*

It was about this period that Mr. Norton, of Madras notoriety, wrote his "Rebellion in India," and exposed the vanity of the presumption, on the part of English statesmen

and English writers, of supposing the Natives of this country always view them and their measures with a child-like admiration. He startled England out of her torpor, to see now, with eyes wide open, that a change, past all remedy, had already come over her younger sons (could such a title be vouchsafed to us) of the East, through her unpremeditated, yet Heaven-directed policy; that education was spreading, judgment had been formed, and the standard erected whereby to judge of her course and measures, not with ignorance and fear, as of yore, but with *knowledge* and *reflection*. Those who sceptically doubted his revelation were pointed to the tone and dignity of the *Hindoo Patriot*, which he announced was "written by a Brahmin, with a spirit, a degree of reflection, and acuteness, which would do honour to any journalism in the world." Then came Russell, the special correspondent of the Leviathan *Times*, to see personally, and to describe graphically, the scenes of the Mutinies; and even he, coming in contact with Harris, was confounded, for a while, whether to applaud the spirit and intelligence of his mind, or the liberality and patriotism of his heart; and after some acquaintance, but much hesitation, vouchsafed to style

him, in his graphic pages, "the Lucullus of India." It is no small thing this! A beggarly Brahmin boy, leaving a charity-school at the early age of thirteen, friendless, beholden to others for even the bread of poverty, rising step after step, without recommendation, without education, through the sheer force of his own powerful intellect, to the highest post in a State office, —thus growing into a man, burdened with business of the greatest responsibility, engaged, on the one hand, with making up the deficiencies of an early education by intense self-labour and study, and satisfying, on the other, a share of the social cares and concerns of the complicated Hindoo Society, editing single-handed a paper in the English language, which influenced the Government in the dictates of their just course and policy, vindicated the right and honour of an entire nation, and excited admiration and called forth eulogy, not only in words of oral delivery, and pages of ephemeral production, but also in the writings of those English authors who are more likely to live than die even in the far West, where mind has attained to the latest feature of its development in the run of present civilisation!

After the suppression of the Mutinies, the

tone of the *Patriot* sobered down for a time into calm suggestions for reconstructing the disordered elements of government; but soon did it elevate itself again in emphatic and reiterated protest against the inhumanity and oppression of the Indigo Planter towards the ignorant and helpless Ryot. The latter, prostrated as he completely was, at the duplicity and *addresse* of the former, in managing his affairs of mean aggrandisement and chicanery, had no hope of relief, or even of succour, until he saw Baboo Harrischander willing to impart both with all his patriotism and humanity. He confided his cause to the voluntary advocate, with a reliance worthy of him who, in his turn, accepted the charge with a deep sense of its responsibility and sacredness; gave to it his time, his intellect, his heart; his days and nights, his enthusiasm and devotion; and discharged it with that faithfulness and zeal which Providence usually rewards, as He did most distinctly in this, with ultimate success.

At the same time, Harris allied himself with the British India Association, which, it is not too sanguine to say, promises at no distant date to be the glorious "House of Commons" in India. The history of this Association has been

the history of what immense benefit one powerful intellect, exercising its energies in the right direction, can do for an entire nation, and leave a glorious heritage to future generations "to paint a moral and adorn a tale." Already it has mitigated the reproach so long cast on our nation—that our best energies were only confined to the desk and the counter,—by distinctly showing, that, as occasion requires, we can even as well advise and regulate politics. Already it has been the source of great national benefit, by averting the imposition of ruinous and improper taxes, by sagely persuading the authorities out of their crudely-formed views; already it has been acknowledged to muster statesman-like wisdom and prescience within its ranks, so as to sit in a fit conclave of consultation on any question of importance and interest; already it has been recognised as the great representative of the people of this country, to express their feelings, wants, and convenience in every department of government; and already it is being consulted by Government on every question of internal policy as such. This Association was formed, and it achieved all this, mainly through the energy and exertions of Baboo Harrischander; and this reflects no small amount of credit

on the power and force of his intellect. Scepticism is one of the safe and cautious characteristics of the English people—nothing is believed at first; and this habitual resistance to novelties might be applauded as a sound instinct, if it did not sometimes obstruct the progress of knowledge; and it was with a people so habituated that Baboo Harris succeeded in getting himself heard, even with respect, as a suggestive patriot! His fame now culminated; he was introduced to every one, and every one heard his suggestions and revelations in regard and good faith, even when he did not appreciate their full worth. "*Rien ne réussit jamais comme le succès*," says the French proverb—"there's nothing half so successful as success," say the Americans, translating the untranslatable; and the full force of its truth was here exemplified. He, to whom neither European nor Native would vouchsafe the meanest berth, which he at first stood so sadly in need of, was now the friend and companion of the greatest and the richest of the country; he, who was but twelve years before a common clerk, so lightly valued as to be pinned to a three-legged desk and broken chair at the lowest step, was now the highest Native functionary of the office,

more honoured and better appreciated than even his immediate European superiors, by the Government and the public; and he, who was scoffed at in the beginning of his public career, as a mere "nigger" and a "pandy"—when it was the fashion to politely utter these little catch-words of distinctive abuse on the part of every splenetic English journalist at a loss for something to argue,—was now respected, esteemed, admired; recommended as a State-craftsman upon all topics of the time; and, in spite of his inherent unfortunate position, which gained him no practical experience of State politics, rescued from the obscurity of a tiny English hebdomadal to be the leading spokesman of India! But in the midst of these achievements, time and incessant toil had gradually broken down the health of this Patriot and Philosopher. The evening of life had come, surely, and but too quickly; and at the appointed hour, calm and happy, with his mind full of radiant hope and triumph, with a consciousness of having lived a life of usefulness and fellow-feeling for God's creatures on earth, and of holy communion with the Spirit above, this Martyr of public labour breathed his last.

It is a pity that he left no dying words of advice; for strange have been the sentences and expressions of dying warriors, kings, philosophers, and priests, reflecting some ever-latent trait in their character; and strange, too, but yet not unnatural, is the fondness with which we linger over death-bed scenes, and gasping words. Gasping words!—*eh bien!*—the whole of life seems, as it were, summed up in one moment, and we linger round its utterances when "out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh," in anxious yearning, and question those moribund expressions, whether they cannot give us some glimpse of the world to come, where the spirit that sent them out in tremulous motion is about to find its lodging for evermore. In one sense, every man here is a Moses, seeking the Promised Land—brighter still, we must admit, than what was vouchsafed to the Jewish Prophet, who took the Pisgah view of his destination from the summit of the mountain; and we can well conceive other chosen spirits of this world, if not all, like him, taking a Pisgah view from the side of the death-bed, and seeing something of the bright land of promise in their own case. Harris's last words would no doubt have afforded a glimpse

of his own faith, full of intense interest and veneration. But alas! he had no last words to utter. Eminently prosperous and useful, he lived and worked, and died in perfect silence; only leaving the awful impression on his friends and countrymen, when his spirit left this world, that a bright star had set in Heaven!

CHAPTER III.

INHERENT SOURCES OF HIS SUCCESS.

INHERENT sources of success in life.—Poverty, the chief impulse of activity in material and intellectual attainments.—Melancholy history associated with literary life.—Allegory of Consuelo.—Harris's poverty.—His earliest avocation an incentive to his activity.—Conception of education and learning among the illiterate Natives.—Merivale's conclusion from Roman history.—Faults in the character of *Young India*.—How removed?—Hasty notions of his conduct.—Two great classes of *Young India* how distanced?—A representative of the worst class.—His career and life allegorically described.—His dejection in after-life.—His want of perfect self-reliance.—Harris prominently apart from his educated countrymen in the possession of confidence of opinion.—Cogency of feeling required to impel all internal decisions into action.—Courage required to withstand the attacks of ridicule and contempt from others.—Disraeli's bold stroke of courage on his first appearance in Parliament.—Baboo Harrischander possessed all the bolder virtues of success.—An incident in his School-life to illustrate his noble disdain of all wrong and insult.

THE brief and rapid review that we have taken, in the last chapter, meagre and imperfect as it is, of what Harris did, brings us to our second question—*What was he, who did all this, with regard to the* INHERENT *circumstances of his life?* Here he is—a rude, beggar-boy, of

imperious habit, without the working of any higher emotion than is the wont of an ordinary youth in his infantine years; who had, save perhaps a little of unusual intelligence, and memory, nothing pre-eminent in him as a boy; who stopped in his school only to pick up such a smattering as enabled him to scribble and speak a little gibberish—like many a youngster from the last forms of our colleges and schools; who at the early age of thirteen relinquished his school and his tasks, to beg for an appointment of eight or ten rupees—the salary of a common sepoy,—in different parts of the city, and found himself rejected and repelled with scorn and a sneer, and at length mendicantly consented to be a common ten-rupee clerk at an auctioneer's;—*this boy* passes, in after-life, not only into a man occupying a post of dignity and emolument as yet denied to all his countrymen; not only into a gentleman of rank, wealth, and influence; not only into a journalist, edifying his readers with his learning, information, and eloquence; but also into a patriot, sternly fighting the battle of humanity and freedom against a powerful and cynical Government—into a man of wisdom and sagacity, opening the sealed book of the politics of his country, cutting,

criticising, caricaturing State measures, and suggesting problems which would take to task the highest powers of a versed politician—into a public character, ever-successful, ever-honoured,—leaving to his nation the legacy of an Association, that, with its present influence, represents the popular element in Government, and promises, if rightly and constitutionally sustained, the regular Third Estate, in time to come, with its full splendour, majesty, and awe, in this ever-neglected, ever-oppressed land of the East! How all this came about, and what led the man *inherently* to an achievement of this consummation, is the inquiry for present investigation.

What led the man to his achievements?—Why, in the first place, it was his poverty! Poverty has been the great world-maker; the greatest ends have been achieved by poverty; for the obvious reason that "Necessity is the mother of invention!" When one is poor, he must scheme for the stomach; there is no wealth furnishing sustenance, and no friends to lend a helping hand. He must think alone, contrive alone, and work alone; and independence of position, and success, naturally result to him. The earth itself, without poverty, would have

remained but a wilderness; for all the magnificent, the wonderful, the elegant, or the luxurious enterprises of the world have been initiated by poverty. But for poverty, the earth would not have been dug, nor wildernesses penetrated, nor forests felled, nor colonies established, nor flax, cotton, and silk wove or spun, nor all the necessaries and elegances of an easy and slothful life ever produced. In the realms of literature, poverty has so immutably been at work, as the source of all success, that, with the exception of Rogers and Byron, so far as our memory leads us to believe, there is no name to which a history of absolute want is not attached: with many has been associated even a melancholy fate. It is only now, when times are changed, that Bulwer has gained a fortune by his writings, and Thackeray and Dickens live in palaces erected by the profits of their own pens. But less than two hundred years ago, Lovelace and Butler died of want; Otway choked himself with a piece of bread which he was greedily devouring to appease his hunger; Savage wrote his poetry on scraps of paper picked out of the gutter, and expired in a jail without a farthing for his interment; Dryden was forced to die in harness; and even in more

recent days that inspired boy, of whom Coleridge sung, as

"Sublime of hope and confident of fame,"

after having been many days without food, poisoned himself, to put an end to his miserable days; and it is barely twelve years ago that the promising Thom of Inverary played the beggar's flute in the public street, and died behind a hedge, succumbing under the cold of falling snows! But apart from this melancholy and misery, it will not pass unnoticed that poverty, which seems to the superficialist so unwholesome, puts all our energies into action; and wherever we look, whatever department of human labour we search in, we invariably find that it is only the poverty-stricken who have achieved success and renown. There is a just and adequate picture drawn of poverty in the "Consuelo" of George Sand, translated by Mrs. Child; it is well worthy the serious consideration of every individual, and we give it here:—

"Paths sanded with gold, verdant heaths, ravines loved by the wild-goats, great mountains crowned with stars, wandering torrents, impenetrable forests, let the good goddess pass through—the Goddess of Poverty!

"Since the world existed, since men have been, she traverses the world, she dwells among men: she travels singing, and she sings working—the goddess, the good Goddess of Poverty!

"Some men assembled to curse her. They found her too beautiful, too gay, too nimble, and too strong. 'Pluck out her wings,' said they; 'chain her, bruise her with blows, that she may suffer, that she may perish—the Goddess of Poverty!'

"They have chained the good goddess, they have beaten and persecuted her; but they cannot disgrace her. She has taken refuge in the soul of poets, in the soul of peasants, in the soul of martyrs, in the soul of saints—the good goddess, the Goddess of Poverty!

"She has walked more than the wandering Jew; she has travelled more than the swallow; she is older than the cathedral of Prague; she is younger than the egg of the wren; she has multiplied more upon the earth than strawberries in Bohemian forests—the goddess, the good Goddess of Poverty!

"She has many children, and she teaches them the secret of God. She talked to the heart of Jesus, upon the mountains; to the eyes of the Queen of Libussa, when she became

enamoured of a labourer; to the spirit of John and of Jerome, upon the funeral pile of Constance. She knows more than all the doctors and all the bishops—the good Goddess of Poverty!

"She always makes the grandest and most beautiful that we see upon the earth; it is she who has cultivated the fields and pruned the trees; it is she who tends the flocks singing the most beautiful airs; it is she who sees the first peep of dawn, and receives the last smile of evening—the good Goddess of Poverty!

"It is she who builds the cabin of the woodcutter with green boughs, and gives to the poacher the glance of the eagle; it is she who rears the most beautiful urchins, and makes the spade and the plough light in the hands of the old man—the good Goddess of Poverty!

"It is she who inspires the poet, and makes the violin, the guitar, and the flute, eloquent under the fingers of the wandering artist; it is she who carries him on her light wing, from the source of the Moldan to that of the Danube; it is she who crowns his hair with pearls of dew, and makes the stars shine for him large and more clear—the goddess, the good Goddess of Poverty!

"It is she who instructs the ingenious artizan: who teaches him to hew stone, to carve marble, to fashion gold, silver, brass, and iron; it is she who renders the flax supple and fine as a hair, from the fingers of the old mother, or of the young girl—the good Goddess of Poverty!

"It is she who sustains the cottage shaken by the storm; it is she who saves rosin for the torch, and oil for the lamp; it is she who kneads bread for the family, and weaves garments for summer and winter; it is she who feeds and maintains the world—the good Goddess of Poverty!

"It is she who has built the grand churches and the old cathedrals; it is she who carries the sabre and the gun, who makes war and conquests. It is she who collects the dead, tends the wounded, and hides the conquered—the good Goddess of Poverty!

"Thou art all patience, all strength, and compassion, O, good goddess! It is thou who unitest all thy children in a holy love, and who givest to them faith, hope, charity—O, Goddess of Poverty!

"Thy children will cease one day to carry the world upon their shoulders; they will be

recompensed for their trouble and toil. The time approaches when there will be neither rich nor poor; when all men shall consume the fruits of the earth, and equally enjoy the gifts of God; but thou wilt not be forgotten in their hymns—O, good Goddess of Poverty!

"They will remember that thou wert their fruitful mother, their robust nurse, and their church militant. They will pour balm upon your wounds, and they will make the rejuvenated and embalmed earth a bed where thou canst at last repose—O, good Goddess of Poverty!

"Until the day of the Lord, torrents and forests, mountains and valleys, heaths swarming with little flowers and little birds, paths which have no masters, and sanded with gold—let pass the good goddess, the Goddess of Poverty!"

Now Harris was poor, and poverty inspired in him activity and energy. He had to procure his livelihood, and he actively searched for an appointment; but being rejected everywhere, he stayed at home, and engaged himself in writing occasional petitions, letters, and bills, that he might procure his pittance of a rupee or two. Of course, in such an engagement, he could not

find occupation for more than a few hours, and these, too, not regular hours, nor every day; so that between the time he wrote one petition or letter and the second was forthcoming, he had leisure, which he could not spend in listlessness. He was naturally inclined to occupy every minute; and the nature of his avocation was itself an incentive to this inclination. He had to do extra work; he must, therefore, attract people, by some show or other, and persuade them to believe he was competent to do his task. He therefore sat just in public view, book in hand, poring over its contents—not affectedly, like the majority of our Native youths, who are so apt to show themselves more than they really are, but in right earnest, comprehending and digesting every word that glittered on the page. Were he to sit listless or playing, without any attention to his books, he should put his reputation at stake among the common people, who are so apt to measure learning by its pomp, and not its modest course. Even in our own island we see men, engaged in writing petitions or letters, placing on their tables some dusty volumes—useful, worthless, or pernicious--just for the look of the thing; and it is precisely the number

and the size of these volumes that attract customers, and not the facility or competency with which their business is executed. And this view of learning and ability is so common and deep-rooted amongst our illiterate as well as half-educated countrymen, that whenever they desire to know the progress of any scholar, the question invariably turns upon the number of books he has read or learnt! We can well remember the time when, in our younger days, we were accosted with the senseless question —"How many books have you read?"—by every stiff-necked, old-fashioned gossip, who desired to know anything of our progress; and when we answered that we had read only five (for that was the number of volumes in M'Culloch's series, once taught at the Elphinstone School), we were jeered at, and thought of lightly, because the number was so small and insignificant, whatever else we might say as to the true dignity of learning not yet lowered to the mere number of lessons and books read in the dull school-room. Thus, it was the necessity of his own position, which he had betaken himself to for want of an opening in life, that gave him the early company of books, which, aided by an innate trait in his temper, as we shall pre-

sently see, did not fail to make him the man he in after-life was. Though most poor and miserable himself, he early learnt to be generous, and ready to recognise others' wants and miseries from his own: he grudged not writing a letter or two, without any remuneration, for the utterly helpless and the destitute. Of how many has it been sung, and with what force, in one sense, can it be sung of Harris himself—

> "Though mean thy rank, yet in thy humble cell
> Did gentle peace and arts unpurchased dwell:
> Well pleased, Apollo thither led his train,
> And Music warbled in her sweetest strain,
> Cyllenius so, as fables tell, and Jove,
> Came willing guests to poor Philemon's grove.
> *Let useless pomp behold, and blush to find,*
> *So low a station—such a liberal mind*"?

But the pressing need of his poverty, without being actuated by certain wholesome principles or stirrings from within, could not have sufficed to make Harris what he subsequently became. He possessed within himself a spirit of independence and self-reliance to an unusual degree. His purpose being once firmly fixed, nothing could change it subsequently; and in the possession of this bold virtue, he stood prominently apart from the mass of his countrymen, "old" or "young." It is needless to

enter into an analysis of the character of the former class, as it is fast dying out, and has already been represented in the numerous exhibitions of Hindoo character which missionaries and other writers have given us. Every possible hole has been picked in the coats of men who, having nothing in common with their historians, have received at their hands no consideration or favour. It is not necessary here to reproduce these misrepresentations. For our part, we would rather undertake to show up the worthies of past times as specimens of a class of men now rapidly dying away, than repaint the oft-painted picture of ignorance, prejudice, and shrivelled heart, that prevailed, and yet linger among the mass of that community, which, a few years hence, will be numbered with the things that were. It is only with the latter class—"Young India"—that we have any concern, and that too for their good. That our young countrymen have within so short a space of time made such rapid progress in general enlightenment and knowledge, with the aid of Western literature and lore, is in itself rather a wonder, which cannot but challenge the admiration of every unprejudiced Englishman. With scarcely any of the advantages

which the English boy enjoys at home, surrounded moreover by the thousand evils of our social fabric, which exercise an emasculating influence upon his character—and brought up under a system of education that is both imperfect and defective—the acute and intelligent Native youth still displays a degree of vigour and energy in all matters which is really surprising. But this affords no reason to overlook the weak points, or uphold the errors and prejudices of our character. Nothing could be more fatal; for the Native character, when completely formed and ameliorated upon the Western model, will naturally command that high degree of English esteem and reverence to which it is not entitled in its present anomalous position. There is an evident duty for both—the Native and the Englishman—to execute in India, and which both have yet sadly neglected. The former has as yet imitated only the superficialities of English life—its boots and stockings, its bottle and the table; but he has neglected to imitate the English enterprise and independence, English energy and decision of character; and, above all, that English sense of propriety, which excludes a member, however rich or dignified, from the pale of general sympa-

thy, when he has been found committing himself by a single act of objectionable repute. But when he has understood and acquired the solid virtues of the Anglo-Saxon, the latter will have to grant to him proportional benefits and rewards as the requirements of his new position. We opine that, if for no higher motive, for policy's sake, the conquerors and the conquered of this country require to be gradually brought together to one level of rank and position. And we have, to vindicate our opinion in this respect, the evidence of a noble page in the history of the world, borne out by a historian of great comprehension and political sagacity. "One principle," says Mr. Merivale, "seems to be established by their history [*i. e.* the history of the Romans]. *It is the condition of permanent dominion, that the conquerors should absorb the conquered gradually into their own body, by extending, as circumstances arise, a share in their own exclusive privileges to the masses from whom they have torn their original independence.*"

But while we quote this, it is very unfortunate that it should so little be applicable in India. There are faults on both sides—more perhaps with Young India than with the Eng-

lish; and it is to be regretted, that while we find many among the latter ready to severely censure these faults, there are so very few who will assist them, by wholesome advice, to cure their errors. They are all youths; and they have faults, even of very grave character, like all youngsters; and were Englishmen but to take them kindly by the hand, show them the path they ought to pursue—show them how to study, how to write, how to reform, and how to rise,—we feel confident that the Indians would ere long become a healthy and intelligent nation, worthy the protection England humanely offers them. But, instead of this, they are roughly censured every now and then at the most trifling error, and even called trimmers, insolent fops, infidels, free-thinkers, deists, atheists, scoffers, of the school of Volney and Voltaire, *et hoc genus omne*, without reflecting that these epithets are not all equally applicable, nor are they very consistent. Yes, trimmers we may be, in the sense of having as yet received nothing solid in our education or our treatment, which is as different from mere profession as any two distinct things can ever be; insolent and violent we may be, in the sense that we have as yet received no kind consideration, or sober coun-

sel as to how we should shape our course; like infidels we may be, in the sense of not having yet received the Christian faith, which itself has still to be settled without dispute to its true form and church, even in the most pious states; free-thinkers we may be, and after emancipation from the slavery of ages, it would be folly to deny freedom of thought; deists and theists we may be, but in this we are in no fault, as a system of pure theism is the last consummation of Christianity as well as its first stepping-stone; but atheists and scoffers we have never been, and never can be. We are thus unjustly and unthinkingly censured by English writers and gentlemen; our faults are all roughly handled, and the general demeanour of those who ought kindly to better us developes every now and then a very fair growth of that odious kind of cant, of which Mr. Squeers, in Dickens's "Nicholas Nickleby," is so instructive an example. It was vexation of spirit enough for the unfortunate boys who came under the lash of that severe disciplinarian to be continually flogged and kept on short commons, but human nature must have fairly given way when they were told that it was all for their good, and that Mr. and Mrs. Squeers were the only persons who

understood their true interests. In a similar tone of contemptible morality have the majority—for there is an honorable minority, who form the truly loyal and humane exception—of Englishmen conducted themselves towards the Natives of this country, without familiarly mingling with them in their concerns, and giving counsels against impertinence, vanity, puffing, or scoffing—their unfortunate blemishes. This violence has well-nigh been dangerously imitated; in fact, it could not long continue without a reflective action upon the Native mind, and the antagonism lately produced between the two races is the necessary consequence of those reckless animadversions on both sides which have painted the one as black as the other, without calm advice on mutual regard and improvement. Did each candidly and rightly acknowledge his individual *faux pas*—and we hope it will be granted that an Englishman is not without his, though the Native may have more,—without unnecessarily abusing and bullying each other, we should undoubtedly have seen by this time a happier state of things—a serener and healthier national atmosphere.

Having thus traced the source of Young

India's failings and shortcomings in the want of wholesome advice from Englishmen, it will be no unprofitable task to expose them in rather bold and honest terms. When introducing Young India to the notice of the reader, we pointed out two classes as having no sympathy with each other. Englishmen see our young countrymen here driving fast in pomp and parade, and there revelling in luxury and debauchery; here engaged in gaming and scandalising, and there playing the "bulls and bears" on a most extensive scale, cheating some and ruining others; and they are apt to take these as fair representatives of young educated Natives. But it needs only the most superficial inquiry to learn that they are not members of the wholesome class. They are generally the sons of the richer community, who are bred up from early life in ease and ignorance; and mere school-boy upstarts, who had hardly advanced even to the highest classes of their school in the course of their education. With the young students from out of our colleges, these fast-going gentlemen have no affinity—their walks, their pleasures, their pursuits, are quite their own; and instead of any fellow-feeling, they look down upon the whole batch of our students

with contempt. There is a reserve on both sides, in regard to familiarity, which neither attempts to overcome; and there is a marked contrast in the general bearing of both. One is proud of his purse, the other contemns it; one is light in conscience, the other scrupulous in his subserviency to it: and under differences like these, it is absurd, if not morally harmful, to mix them up into one class. Unfortunately for themselves, the well-educated portion of our young countrymen present a split, which favours this mixing up of distinct classes. One section is hard-reading, modest, and amiable, while the other is idle, noisy, and surly; and this latter, from its very obtrusive nature, often coming to the notice of the public, is looked upon as constituting the entire class of *Young India*. But whatever the discreditable splits among the healthy class of Young India, we most steadfastly believe its general character and bearing are bright and hopeful. This class is limited, and, we admit, the majority have not as yet learnt to appreciate study for itself; but still it is to be kept distinct from all other classes in point of moral vigour and intellectual strength. Viewing other classes than that of our well-educated youth, the picture no doubt is gloom-inspiring;

and excepting only the few who thoroughly imbibe English taste, and English spirit, by a well-progressed education, the general bearing of the young-born of even our enlightened generation is pitiable. There are three evident classes: the fast-going gentlemen and the college alumni have been distinctly named; and to these may be added the low, grovelling class of young men, who, blessed with only a smattering of English, can but just copy letters, &c., and pass their life in drudgery and mechanical ploddings. The better class sometimes degenerates into either, and with the exception of those who remain firm in their position, the whole history of the young-born of the country can easily be epitomised:—He is born, and earnest and loud merriment proclaim to the world his advent. Parents, relations, and neighbours rejoice, and, offering up prayers, bless the day* when the father conceives his position—

"I gained a son,
And such a son as all men hailed me happy!"

* As yet, the prejudice in favour of the son and against the daughter is rampant in India. It has a partial standing among the half-literate Parsees; but the writer has heard even well-educated Hindoo friends expressing grief at the birth of a daughter!

They all express their desire to see him, in after-life, sit, not with the cloth, the chisel, the brush, or the plough, like his father (if that were the case), but at the desk in an office, and make his *début* an accomplished scholar, certes a great philosopher, who, like Archimedes, would require only the fulcrum to move the whole world at his will! And, after all, what does this coveted intellectual greatness consist in? Just such proficiency as will enable him to take occupation as an eight or ten-rupee copyist in an office! And it is for this that so much of ecstasy is spent at his birth! At the very birth, his nativity is cast; and the astrologers, with their mnemonic words and mystic characters, are quite ready to read that he has come, Minerva-like, into light, an incarnation of all wisdom, an encyclopædia of knowledge. Yet it is deemed prudent in many cases not to repose much trust in nature. Art combined with nature is perfection, and our pride-inspiring hero would become the impersonation of "perfection's self," were his wonderful natural gifts well developed by a little discipline of art. In time, therefore, he sets out for the field, where the battle is to be fought with the lance of the pen, the shield and buckler of slate and books, and by

the manœuvring of the mind under poltroon generals, against the Lilliputian army of letters, singly or in battalions. Here he is, of course, given at first only a few watchwords of safety on the close of the day, to ensure recognition and admission at the next action. This done, on the break-up of his regiment (and here the break-ups are daily), from the action of the day, he saunters forth, in and out of the place, to the astonished gapings of foolish and fond parents and neighbours, who vainly flatter him as a great hero already. He goes and returns every day, of course with new watchwords and tactics, to which he is necessarily advanced, as he has ultimately to become the leading hero of the fight against every one's opposition, if he has only the desire and courage. But his parents and neighbours flatter him as already sufficiently advanced and skilful. The time for real strife may yet be forthcoming; but spoilt by flattery and fondling, he deems himself sufficient for all purposes; and if he meanwhile gets a commission on the staff, he relinquishes his field without achieving any glory, and prides himself on the acquisition, be it small or great.

His *début* in life being thus made, his spirit and his life can easily be prejudged.

He was never independent and commanding, for ere the time for this position could come he left the field; so that the scapegrace is only an arrant coward, and, instead of improving in his manœuvring, by private parades, he leaves his knapsack and his weapons for ever! He lacks a complete discipline, and he lacks self-reliance and energy in his early training; so that in life he is often found hesitating between different, if not actually opposite determinations. Ever and anon a faint impulse of preference inclines towards the one or towards the other; and while the mind is thus held in a trembling balance, it loses the sober opportunities of actual success. Give to him any proposal: perhaps he persuades himself to accept and attempt to accomplish it; but at the very outset, the puny force of some circumstance, about as powerful as a feather, makes a seizure of the hapless boaster, and exhibits the futility of his determination.* It has been remarked above, that he leaves his knapsack and his books on quitting the field—the school;

* The writer has seen several instances of very intelligent students making a resolution of study and further progress just one day, and, while considering how to begin, the resolution is gone!

but perhaps, in some instances, there may still linger the heart-devotion of earlier life to a favourite author or character; and when animated with any example in reading, the youth conceives the design and sketches the plan of his life, and his imagination revels in the felicity attendant upon its accomplishment; but alas! in a moment of remitted excitement, a thought crosses the mind—"All this is very well for England, where talents find their way, and industry gets its reward; where one has to command thousands on paper, or sparkle in Parliament. What have we here, in India, where the press is poor, people are illiterate, and superiors are so apt to censure every defect and stifle every rising ambition to actuate industry and study? Why should I study? What benefit can I reap?—while if talents, health, and station be well used for *practical* purposes, I should live much more comfortably, and more usefully to myself and my family." There the thought seizes; the ardour is slackened; the resolution is gone, and the wretched utilitarian plods life away in visions of practical utility, and idle repinings at the refusal by fate of imaginary advantages. Thus awanting in manliness, he never plays any part of real useful-

ness, and sinks into utter degradation and *néance*, from whence disappearance into the grave is but by one short leap, "unknown, unhónoured, and unwept."

This description, very condemnatory, is unfortunately too true; and more than ninety per cent. of our young educated countrymen will very readily be found to verify every word that is mournfully uttered. To know how to cultivate a determination is one of the first requisites of a successful character: the deliberation may take time—it did with Cæsar, before he passed the Rubicon; but only a few moments of doubt and hesitation intervened between the decision and execution. A really strong character does not at all hesitate between one thought which proposes, and another which only upsets the first; nor does it ever demean itself from fear of friends or superiors, who must necessarily think upon any determination variedly, according to taste and feeling. The object is clear to him, and he proudly disdains the arrogant scoffings of men ill capacitated to judge, or the adverse criticism of a narrow-spirited press. It is only weakness that tempts presumption and impertinence; strength keeps clear the space around, where it may freely play, and where

stupid impertinence or arrogant forwardness dares not intrude with dictation and sneers. If this fact were well borne in mind, and every one of our rising generation were to carry into execution whatever he once determined upon, Harris, who so well exemplified it in his life, would have struck only an ordinary character, without at all being an example for the study of Young India.

But this grand basis—confidence of opinion, or self-reliance—is not sufficient to ensure success such as Harris achieved; there is needed the cogency of feeling to impel all internal decisions into action. The most successful men in the world, in any department of human life, have been those of the most ardent feelings; and, indeed, it is only from the warm ardour of feeling that the cold dictates of reason can ever become excited into active exertion. Judgment may be clear, and even strong; but it requires the strong force of feeling to execute its dictates. Pope very justly styles the "ruling passion" the moving spring of all our actions. Good or bad, it acts with force and constancy very remarkable; and its strength gives dignity to the character even in its worst development. While reading in history or fic-

tion of an agent of the darkest purpose, we are compelled, in spite of ourselves, to cast on him a look of respect and admiration, if he has executed his design with an intrepid resolve and will. And so it is that we are stirred up with an instinctive emotion at the exhortation of Satan, when, after an indomitable resolve and strenuous desire to avenge the Ruler in Heaven, he gave the alternative,

"Awake! arise!—or be for ever fall'n!"

Both these sources of success—self-reliance and strenuous will—require yet to be superadded by a third, viz. courage. In one sense it is included under the two virtues just named; but yet, the distinction is apparent, and not the less essential. Self-reliance and strenuous will relate to the man so far as his own self is concerned, his thoughts, and his resolves; but to withstand succumbing to the mean attacks of contempt and ridicule, as well as the pernicious effects of flattery and praise, requires the exercise of courage. This sterling virtue is everywhere—it is everything. Blessed with it, men have searched the earth to its farthest ends, ventured without shrinking into the frozen deep or panted at the line; lightning

and storm, thunder and hurricane, undaunting. With it they have undergone all, dared all, conquered all, even with failure after failure. "You may laugh now," said the son of a retired gentleman, originally a mere articled clerk to a London attorney, friendless as he felt himself on his entry into Parliament, and spitefully caricatured for a wild extravagance of imagination in a first essay in romance, but now the most eloquent of all Parliamentary speakers and the accepted leader of a great political party—the younger Disraeli—"You may laugh now," said he, courageously, as he concluded his first speech; "but you *shall* hear me some day." This courage to manfully repel the contempt and ridicule of vain scoffers is scarcely to be found even in the best of our young men, who have much of that vincibility of temper which makes them mere playthings in the hands of designing fools; and but for this they should ere long have been fitted to adorn the highest posts of their country—to manage, in other words, the reigns of self-government, which, in their present cowardly temperament, whatever their vain boasters or false friends may say, we believe they are *not* equal to.

Now, these inherent principles of character

for success in life Baboo Harrischander possessed in a pre-eminent degree, affording a bright picture, quite distinct from the gloomy aspect we have just been contemplating. He was a man of strong self-reliance, stern purpose, indomitable will, and manly courage, though, under more favourable circumstances than it was his lot to be surrounded by in early life, he being a Native of India, these should all have been well tempered and increased. It would be a work of supererogation to mark the working of these bold virtues in his after life, after all that has already been said in the preceding pages of what he *did*, and what opposition, scoffing, and contempt he met with in the early part of his career; and rather than engage in this work of mere repetition, we should prefer to hasten to an investigation of the causes that lead to the utter want of the elements of success in our young educated countrymen. But before closing this chapter, it is necessary to state that the manly robustness, and noble disdain of all meanness and wrong, which so pre-eminently marked out the public career of Baboo Harrischander, were early discernible in the boy Harris. While at the school, a drunken sailor having once on

an occasion insulted some stray lads of his class, Master Harris felt extremely indignant, and resolved upon revenge. A Lilliputian army was immediately assembled in Bhowaneepore, armed with rulers, and, with young Harris commanding, marched on with measured steps, "breathing revenge." The warrior, who had vainly thought to annihilate entire armies, like Samson, single-handed, was at once brought to a sense of his vincibility. He received a severe blow, and was put to flight! This was the intrepid victory of Master Harris, barely ten years old. But how often at this age are Native boys lost amidst pigeons and play, and alarmed into instinctive shiverings at the very sight of a sailor or soldier!

CHAPTER IV.

CAUSES OF A WANT OF THE MAINSPRINGS OF SUCCESS IN THE CHARACTER OF "YOUNG INDIA."

UTTER want of early domestic training in India.—Instances of Indian Women figuring as Authors and Poetesses of eminence.—The doctrine of Female Depravity, as propounded by the *Rishees*.—By Menu.—Woman's occupation in India.—Her daily round of labours described.—Her extreme fondness for begetting Children.—Puranas quoted.—Present Female Education in India.—Absence of all elementary information on it.—An observation of no spirit of a change being wrought over the Girls by the present system of education stated.—A scheme for the higher training of Females.—Englishmen's aversion for familiarity with the Natives in private life.—It is just and merited.—Clever Women are of greater importance to the world than clever Men.—Absence of Boarding-Schools in India.—*Its* pernicious effects.—Physical hardihood of an Indian more of a *forced* character than otherwise.—Strength and spirit required to uphold National Rights.

PERHAPS the deficiency, or even perfect want of the mainsprings of all successes in life, in the character of Young India, as recited in the last chapter, can be traced more to their unfortunate position in the very nature of things, as they obtain in India, than their own neglect.

Since with the domestic life is connected the promotion of the best interests of man, both in this world and the next; since it is within the little circle of the walls of "home, sweet home," that the best affections are implanted and rooted; and since it is there that the elements of infant humanity are developed, bearing an influence on the principles and conduct in future life: it is no less palliative of the defects in the general character of Young India, than it is melancholy, to say that their homes are a wretched scene of ignorance, indifference, and misery. It is the mother that reigns paramount at home; our blood comes from the mother; our bones are our mothers' bones—we are all our mothers'; and it is the mother that gives us life—first animal life, then spiritual life; for it is the mother that teaches us to walk, and talk, and think, and lays within us the whole future man. Yet how do we behold the mother in her own house? Can she not justly complain, in the words of Tennyson's Lilia—

"But convention beats us down:
It is but bringing up, no more than that;
You men have done it; how I hate you all!
Ah! were I something great: I would I were
Some mighty poetess, I would shame you then,
That love to keep us children. O! I wish

That I were some great princess: I would
Build far off from men a college like a man's,
And I would teach them all that men are taught.
We are twice as quick."

Yes, they are twice as quick; for wherever they have appeared to public notice, they have shown a degree of intelligence and learning truly remarkable. India herself is not wanting in her examples. The names of Atreyi, Maitreyi, and Gargi are handed down in traditional succession as eminently distinguished for their knowledge of Vedantic philosophy, at which so many of our learned European scholars yet rack their brains. Bhamiat is the author of a work to expound the same subject, and her learning and depth of thought may put to the blush the intelligence of Madame de Stael. Shila, Vija, Mechika, were poetesses, of whom it is not too much to say that they wrote the most difficult and philosophic Sanskrit, and may properly cast into the shade the genius of Mrs. Hemans. A writer of considerable keenness on logic, the author of *Tarka-prakash*, pays a high compliment to the literary acquirements of his mother, to which he ascribes his successes, more vehemently and forcibly than Mill does to those of his learned wife.

Taramati, Damaynti, and Rukhmani are names familiar to every one even very superficially acquainted with Indian literature. These instances may be multiplied to the number of learned females of all the European countries put together, did we of necessity require it, which we do not. But yet the later *rishees* have, by a system of false and contemptible theology, degraded woman in India even more than the ancient Greeks and Romans—"Falsehood, cruelty, bewitchery, folly, impurity, and unmercifulness are woman's inseparable faults."—"Woman's sin is greater than that of man, and unatonable by any process of expiation."—"Women are they who have an aversion to good works."—"Women have hunger two-fold more than men; cunning, four-fold; violence, six-fold; and evil desires, eight-fold." Even Manu, by a pitiable short-sightedness, allotted to women "a love of the bed, of their seat, and of ornaments, impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief, and bad conduct";* and a system of this mawkish sentimentality, of a hypocritical and renegade philosophy, has degraded woman

* For further information on the condition of woman in India, see "*The Evangelisation of India*," by John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., Discourse x., pp. 407—463.

to the utter depth of darkness, from which even streaks of light are now hardly perceptible after the best endeavours of philanthropists for nearly half a century of active labour. The time which requires to be employed in the cultivation of her own mental and moral power, and in the prosecution of those most important duties of preparing her children to be worthy citizens of this world, and eventually to receive the favours of their Maker in the world to come, she most indifferently and negligently loses in petty cares and amusements, which neither attract the fancy nor gratify the taste. Excluded as she is from the society of the world, woman in India has a little society about herself, where she finds subjects sufficient to engage her—eating, drinking, sleeping, tale-telling (that is, scandalising men and families); and then eating, sleeping, drinking, and back-biting again, all over day, month, and year! A Native home resembles one of those convents of Spain and Italy, which Lamartine describes in his "Régina" as presenting "la monotonie dans le vide, l'importance dans le rien, un sensualisme pieux sanctifié par le mysticisme." This is no exaggeration, and in our convent the recluse (not even imbued with the taste of read-

ing, as the recluses of Europe!) is retained, wasting life in closeness, superstition, and sensuality. The son in his intelligent manhood wonders how he could respect the motherhood of his family when he recalls the misery of the days that he has spent in his early home in vulgar conversations, mean thoughts, and those petty amusements which fail to satisfy even the *ennui* of an hour, but which sufficed to afford pleasure to the whole life of the mother. But the poet has said,

"The sports of children satisfy the child,"

and the Indian mother thinks nothing of making the mechanical concerns of the kitchen, the settling of the disputes and differences of the family, or the getting up of fresh ones in her turn; sewing and scandalising; bargaining for materials to deck her body; marrying her sons and daughters at an early age; and, after marriage, becoming anxious for their begetting children in their turn;* and the strict observ-

* The propagation of our species is a desire natural to man, and more perhaps to woman; but when it sinks into the idea of the *beau ideal* of all domestic happiness, it becomes a low grovelling passion for animal appetite. But so it is in India, that when two women, whether Parsee, Hindoo, or Mussulman, meet together, the inquiry as to sons or daughters, if about ten years old, invariably turns as to whether they are married or not, and if twelve or fifteen, whether they have begotten any children

ance of almost all the superstitious ceremonies and extravagant customs of her forefathers, to be the sole solitary incidents of the history of her life. In the present void of her mind, she

already! A youth of fifteen or sixteen, if he has not begotten a son or daughter, is victimised with base taunts; when twenty or upwards, this circumstance is held past bearing. Instances to illustrate this observation are too numerous; and the writer of these pages has not himself been spared very uncomplimentary remarks, even from our so-called "educated women," for his single position in life. To be a single man among the lower orders till twenty or thirty, or even for life, is perhaps regarded with no very great aversion; but to be such when one belongs to a well-to-do family is held utter damnation. The religious injunctions on this head are themselves injudicious. The writer of these pages has, through the assistance of his Sanskrit teacher, been able to glean the following, which, he hopes, will be found interesting. The Mutcha Purana says—"No man ought to remain unmarried even for a day; if he does so, he must perform certain penances as an atonement. And this, although he may otherwise be diligent in prayer, in giving alms, and in studying the Veda"! The Bhavishiut Purana says—"If a man marry after his forty-eighth year, he shall be accounted sinful; but if he remain unmarried, or *without a male child*, until his forty-eighth year, all the good actions of his life shall be of no service to him"!! And again, in the same Purana, in another place, we have been struck with the absurdity—"If a girl is not married before the age of puberty, her father, mother, and elder brother are rendered *for ever sinful*." And what does the reader imagine the age of puberty to be? Our Sanskrit studies are not much advanced; but yet we can tell him with confidence that this age of puberty is ten!—(Vide *Chandrogo-parusistang*.)

has nothing to amuse or instruct her, and she finds complete satisfaction if she is occupied only with the enjoyment and dissipation of the present. Having learnt nothing, she has nothing to teach to her children, who, in the natural constitution of the human mind to remain unaffected by surrounding impressions, early learn lessons of effeminacy, listlessness, and vulgarity at home. The long chain of her duties and amusements, from the time she rises from her bed to the hour when she again retires to rest, can be very easily epitomised, to the shame of every Indian patriot. With the crowing of the cock she rises from her bed, and commences the dull routine of the affairs of the kitchen, calling daughters and daughters-in-law, and domestics, if any, to assist her in their management; grumbling, and often abusing and gnashing at them, at every little inattention, or failing in properly executing her little commissions. Then, kindling her fire, she sits basking before it till she is half melted, and prepares her little things for breakfast, which are no sooner ready than they are eaten up by the little children and other members of the family, who have by this time become alive to the call of nature. She next

engages herself in the preparation of dinner, which is dispatched before the husband leaves for his office. During the afternoon, she explains minutely the various operations she performs in the morning to her fellows, who then generally visit her on matters of friendship or business—relating, *imprimis*, how sedulously she engaged herself in her affairs, what amount of labour, dexterity, and diligence she was obliged to undergo in placing rightly the different utensils, vessels, and the other articles of the kitchen; and how watchful she was to discover the slightest degree of negligence, or absence of expertness, or the least departure from her sanctioned injunctions, in her domestics and daughters-in-law; then regretting their dishonesty in shirking from her orders, and the whispered blamings and broils with which her attention was engaged in the morning, and which were conducted in a suppressed tone lest her companion in life should be disturbed in his sweet repose; next depicting the conduct of her consort with fond epithets, praising him for his good sense in acquiescing in all her favourite propositions, and in essaying to contribute to gratify her little vanities; applauding his earnestness and determination in obviating

difficulties and privations; and pouring upon him her admiration for the thousand and one ways in which he procures wealth, and the care with which he treasures it up. But here ends not her tale, stupid though it be: she goes on to an outline of the several forms and ceremonies usually observed in her house; all the little bargains struck with the draper and the tailor; all the fanciful likings and thoughts which distinguish her husband and children; the many intricate and remote, the friendly and relational ties, by which she is united with several of her caste-fellows, especially rich members—cursing and slandering them for their forgetting her in the pride of riches; the numerous thoughts that revolve in her mind relative to the promotion of the worldly interests and concerns of her husband, of herself, and of her offspring; the hardships which she has to bear while pursuing the end and aim of her wishes; the impertinent inquiries which she makes into the conduct and character in life of the families with which she means to unite her daughters or sons in the way of marriage; the ready responses by which she flatters the demands of some for either, or the flat denials by which she discourages those of others; with a word or two

of scandal for every family. She loves to dilate daily on topics such as these, while occupied with her domestic duties. She not unfrequently calls out for her daughters and daughters-in-law, who may be occupied in the performance of some other business, directs them to aid her in supervising and superintending, embracing every occasion to edify them in all household affairs, and enlighten them on their true nature and character; and exhorting them to copy her own skill and diligence in the kitchen, with a view to make them good wives, when they happen to enter on life. The daughter-in-law (who is always kept in hot water) is then enjoined to place in order the various articles of domestic economy, and perform what she may be called upon to do in the kitchen; while the mother is always on the alert to detect in her any little idleness, dereliction of duty, or the infringement of the rules laid down for her guidance. She narrowly watches over her conduct and her motives, and takes to scold and whip her the moment she goes astray, be her motive quite pure, or her erring quite innocent. If she does not find her docile, and mindful of her behests, she heaps upon the poor creature

volleys of censures and reproaches, and even goes so far as to threaten the severance of her marriage contract, and driving her off from the company of her son. Beyond this, the matron squanders away her time in bargaining for her as well as her family's use. She occasionally ruminates upon the several items of expenditure she incurs during the day, and often repeats them over, in order to recollect them when giving in the account to her lord, owing to her being either too illiterate or too unwilling to write. Several considerations also toss about her mind, relating to the performance of some ceremony or other, which custom enjoins should be personally notified to her kith and kin. To effect this, her daughters, and daughters-in-law, and herself often, are actively engaged. They are all clad in the gayest attire possible, and ornamented with jewels; all the fineries of the family, or begged and borrowed on loan, are lavished on the occasion, so as to enhance the charms of their persons with the tinsel of art—things so fondly doted on by every family, as in their absence to subject them to indifference and contempt wherever they go. The finery being procured and put on, the matron, with a

significant look, takes a survey of one daughter after another, turning them in a semicircle now and then, to judge of the neatness or otherwise of their dress and decoration. Pandering in this manner to her own self-complacency, she sometimes sends for some of her near neighbours, to examine the make-up of herself and her young ones, and to gain applause for the taste and ingenuity manifested by her. In case she lacks daughters and daughters-in-law of her own to make up the proper number, she graciously takes in her tenants and neighbours, and being thus fitted out, they go on their errand of invitation, loitering ungainly on the road, morning or afternoon, or even under the burning sun, requesting relatives and acquaintances to attend, in language loud and illiterate; and their rich and splendid ornamenting and dressing charm the eye of every one who accosts them, and draw forth some remark as to the appropriateness of, or towards bettering, their appearance, from the friends visited. At home, meanwhile, the requisite preparation is being made with great promptitude, either by the mother, if she stays behind, or old dames charged with welcoming the invited, who, on coming to the house, meet with the most cor-

dial and adulatory reception. They are seated on a carpet, or some other kind of cloth spread on purpose, and are treated in a manner quite in unison with the dictates of morality, the rules of hospitality, the injunctions of the shastras, or the sanction of custom. After this they are allowed to return—not, however, before being presented with a dish brought forth with fruits, flowers, or viands. And thus ends the day of the *materfamilias* on an important occasion. As evening approaches, she goes through the same routine of business in the kitchen as she is required to undergo in the morning, taking care not to burden her mind with thoughts otherwise than fall into a fanciful or humorous reverie, so as to delight her mind;—seldom reminded of the duties she owes to her Almighty Maker as a creature of His will and grace; and at last she falls, much like the lower animal, on her bed of repose.

Thus are the precious hours of an Indian woman, high or low, told over; though it must frankly be confessed, that, if there is aught different from the picture just presented, in the domestic circles of "the upper ten thousand" of Native society, it consists only in the occupation with the piano, and embroidery,

and such like showy things, and a great deal of waste in sleep and useless chat. The consequences from a system of this debasing character are obvious as well as pernicious. If these petty objects and useless pursuits occupy the time and engage the attention of every mother in an Indian family; if, beyond these, her mental vision never penetrates, and her heart never flows; if, amidst all her trappings and decorations, which she so much revels in and centres her happiness in possessing, she can never even acknowledge the Source from whence all things spring; if the affairs of the kitchen, the bonds of relationship, and the extending of connections, and temporal advancement of her children, are the sole objects and purposes of her existence, and complete the whole circumference of her actions and thoughts—then it can never be that an Indian son enjoys the real blessing and comforts of an early domestic education in all its varied extent and usefulness.

It will be urged, and Europeans are ready to believe, that the picture given above of female character in India was true some five-and-twenty years ago; but now that female education has been working so steadily in Bombay

and Calcutta during the last quarter of a century, it must materially have altered. But this is placing too much confidence in the rose-coloured reports of an organised system of hypocrisy, which a few interested men, with a sturdy pride, worthy of a better cause, try to perpetuate. The system of education imparted among the Parsees may, we presume, be taken as a fair sample—rather a better one than any else—of female enlightenment in India: better, we say, because Parsees are so much ahead of all Indian tribes in their enlightenment and progress; because they are not trammelled by restrictive hindrances on the score of creed or custom, like the Hindoos or Mussulmans; and because their commercial pursuits bring them in almost daily contact with European thought and intelligence—which are all facilities in their way for adopting the machinery of modern European education, and which are awanting among the other races. The immediate instruments of instruction are raw school-boys, on the merest pittance of salary; and it is the height of folly to expect that the education imparted by them can at all be solid, systematic, or influential in refining. Berlin wool-work, crochet-knitting, and chanting Gujarati doggerels, are all the

showy acquirements that girls receive, without ever being led into refined ideas, and love of enlightenment and reflection: and what is the result? Girls growing up into women are as void of pure delights as their mothers or grandmothers; and short as the time is that they stay in school, they leave off all reading after entering into life. There is no change wrought over the spirit and bearing of females by the present system of female instruction; and we have seen several instances in which superstition and ignorance are as prevalent among the so-called educated girls as among women of the old school—with perhaps the only difference, that the former are more showy, more ambitious, more surly than the latter. Two of these girls—the best of their class, honoured with two prizes of books and sewing-boxes, and a medal—cannot now read plain prose with *any* degree of ease and grace, and have twice been seen going in the company of women paying their superstitious vows to the goddess of the sea! Tell the girls to work for you a pair of slippers, and you shall have a very gaudy-looking cover for the feet; tell them to chant to you a piece of that doggerel, in which the best sentiment and

the best imagery rise not in the least above the ideas of a common lascar or cooly, (and this is the style of Gujarati verses put into their hands,) and you will have a harmonious flow of the treble to please your ear without gratifying your taste: but ask them whether their brother or cousin, proceeding to England, goes by the west or the east, or whether there is any distinction between one piece of plain composition and another, and you behold them standing dumb before you, petrified as before the head of Medusa!*

* This picture is as true of the girls of any caste or creed as of the Parsees. The writer of these pages has twice visited Hindoo girls' schools, and found the melancholy truth verified—*there is really no female education in India.* He has had communication with an intelligent Native of Calcutta on this topic —a Baboo by birth,—and has read articles in candid journals, which have both confirmed him in his view. Discussion on the present state and amelioration of female education was very warm and long-continued, recently, in the papers here, both vernacular and English, in both of which the writer took an active part; and at length found that with the only honorable (?) exception of two Gujarati journals, all shared in the views just as they are here expressed. The organ of the Female Education Committee, when hard pushed, admitted that the Committee imparted only an "infant education" to our girls; and made a defence of the existing rotten system on that ground in a first leader, tinctured by mawkish sentimentality, made doubly disgusting by its hypocritical complexion. It was then replied, by the writer of these pages, that that was "a novel discovery or conviction after a trial of twelve long years, during

This is no exaggeration, but a plain statement of observed facts—as melancholy for the writer to relate as derogatory to the national character of his country. It is alleged, by way of a palliative for all these defects, that the girls, owing to early marriage, and prejudice on account of the schools being conducted, superintended, and planned by men, leave them so early as between the ages of ten and twelve. The early marriage is slowly disappearing, and must be left to time and the action of the very education which is destined to break the neck of this touch-me-not effete custom, and the progress of which it now tends so much to arrest; but the prejudice is the indication of the very defect in the system, and there is more credit for the community in yielding to it, at any expense, than in destroying it. Any one, with

which time the Committee flattered themselves they imparted *female* education, and for the sake of honesty and truth they would now head their reports with "Female *Infant* Education." It was after all a great satisfaction to know, that after a dispute continued from time to time, in which they had employed many makeshifts and lame arguments to support themselves, the Committee (or rather their organ) awoke to the full sense of their false pretensions, and frankly admitted that the education here imparted was simply an infant education—by which we understand reading with halts, writing without grammar, chanting without prosody, and calculating without arithmetic!

the least sense of honour, should be the last person to consign his daughter or his sister to the charge of men, who, neither by superior education nor position in life, are in the least degree fitted to cultivate the mind or refine the heart. Why, it is impossible to conceive that tastes and habits can be taught which none but those that can naturally display them are capacitated to confer; and hence the incongruity supposed in employing male teachers in schools intended to impart feminine refinement and politeness, even in England. The Bethune School at Calcutta commenced with the excellent Mrs. Heberlin and her successors; and it is high time now to have Englishwomen instructing our girls in all the different parts of India, where shares of Rs. 20 each can be easily filled up to the extent of about 5,000 in number, to found high English schools. We want the English language, English manners, and English behaviour, for our wives and daughters; and until these are supplied, it is but just that the present gulf between the Englishman and the Indian should remain as wide as ever. They meet each other in the counting-house or the state-office, get on well as men of business, and understand each other

well as concerns all there considered; but in all private and personal concerns, the former instinctively avoids coming in contact with the latter, whether by way of asking advice or claiming sympathy. This is plain enough, and easy to be comprehended: the former does not know how far the latter is capable of understanding his position, or sympathising with him in the concerns of the heart and feelings. Woman makes the man; so that as long as the Indian woman is not capacitated to understand the English woman, and be understood by her in turn, the Anglo-Indians cannot be expected to understand the character of the men of the East; and so long as this requisite of a reciprocal understanding is not supplied, Englishmen are not to be blamed if they preserve themselves at a distance from the Natives in private life, lest their finer feelings be shocked or worn away by too familiar contact with natures that have never been refined by the subtle amenities of enlightened female society. Napoleon once asked of Madame de Stael how he could make France a great nation, and received in reply the brief but comprehensive suggestion, "Educate the Mothers." Young India needs to know that women are

not to have a mere "infant education"; but their intellect requires to be thoroughly disciplined and developed. It is of greater importance to the world to have clever women than clever men; and if it were offered the choice of the two suppositions—that all men were clever and all the women fools, or that all women were refined and all men untutored,—the world would be far better in the general aspect of mankind, and the appearance of the men of genius and ability, in its selection of the latter alternative. Weak men with clever wives have begotten sons of high endowments and power, but clever men with fools for their mates have generally begotten fools. Sir Nicolas Bacon was twice married: his first wife, an illiterate woman, begot a careless offspring; but his second wife, a woman of very high capacity and education, produced to him the great Lord Bacon. Indeed, it must be ever borne in mind that woman is born for something more than a show of God's finer handiwork; she is born *to make* that child which is to be "father to the man"; and marriage is that serious responsibility, to be so understood by man as to feel that what he wants therein is not merely his helpmate in life, but a *mother* for his children.

Under circumstances like the foregoing, we are almost tempted to pardon the defects in the natural constitution, mental and moral, of the rising generation of India, and feel ourselves gratified, that hemned in, as it is, by defects the most momentous in their issues—and what other defect can be more momentous than that of the utter neglect of early domestic training? —it has already achieved great things in the department of intellectual vigour. We are the more tempted to award to Young India his prize and eulogy, when we consider that there is an inherent defect even in the system of instruction imparted to him at the school, which gives to his mental capacity the appearance of a *forced* implantation. Need it be told what it is, after all that has been said of the utter want of domestic education, which, but for it, may not be so disastrous in its consequences? Yes—it is the total want of boarding and lodging in association with our schools and colleges, whereby the boy invariably acquires two important elements of human life—*physical hardihood* and *manly self-reliance*. If there is in any country a need of this institution more than in another, it is in India, where the home is so much a blank, and the boy is so apt to be

infused with the ignorance and weaknesses of the parents; and yet Government have withheld it from us!

In England, a boy leaves his father and mother's house, and goes to live at a college or school. In exchange for the influence of his parents, home, and family, he receives that of his teachers, and that of his college or school friends and companions. A sitting-room and a bedroom are assigned to him, as his castle, and there he makes his first experience of life, with some of the details of house-keeping, of society, of independent action; and learns the privileges and responsibilities of being his own master. Here he has no parents or brothers to protect or help him, and he soon awakes to the fact that he has to fight his way unassisted by other support than what his own manliness supplies. He becomes the asserter of his rights and claims; the architect at first, and protector afterwards, of his individual position and dignity: and thus acquires one important element of human life and success—self-reliance. But there is that harmony of system in English universities which does not give a one-sided growth to this element, rendering boys churlish; there is evolved, along with it, the

element of union and nationality, also wanting in India. The student, while he lives at the college, is united to it by the ties of common interests, common amusements, common studies, and a common worship: he meets his companions almost daily at the lectures, in the hall, in the chapel, in the debating-room, in walks, in rides, in the boat-race or the cricket-field. The same ties, a little relaxed, unite him with the students of other colleges in the university; and he sees in the union of his companions the union of a nation in after life.

According to the most obvious division of human nature, man is composed—1, of the body, or physical organisation; 2, of the mind, or intellect; and 3, of spirit, or moral nature;—a division that has come down to us since the *Republic* of Plato; and education being that process whereby the whole man is trained, a great school, a college, or university, is bound to train and fashion, not the understanding only, but the body and the spirit also. An English boy, looking upon his school days as a period of happiness and mirth, sings—

> "Oh! when I was a tiny boy,
> My days and nights were full of joy;
> My mates were blithe and kind!

No wonder that I sometimes sigh,
And dash the tear-drop from my eye,
To cast a look behind!"

But every urchin in India, on the contrary, ever looks upon his schools as so many prisons, and grieves—

"What tender urchins now confine,
What little captives now repine,
Within yon irksome walls!"

And the reason is obvious, from the fact that while in England play and study are combined, in order to educate both the physical and the intellectual man, (in Oxford and Cambridge, religious is also trained up,) in India, the operation of nauseous cramming is systematically pursued. We shall content ourselves, with a view to illustrate our observation, with a short extract from "*Tom Brown's School Days*," relating a foot-ball match, when the boys are about in the grounds, strength and energy all exhausting, reckless even of a shoulder broken or body crushed to pieces. In the rush of boys eager to give a "drop-kick" to the ball into the enemy's side, amidst "holding of Look out in quarters!"—"Off "your side!"—Down with him!" and the like.

"The quarter to five has struck, and the play slackens for a minute before goal; but there is Crew, the artful dodger, driving the ball in behind our goal, on the island side, where our quarters are weakest. Is there no one to meet him? Yes! look at little East! the ball is just at equal distances between the two, and they rush together, the young man of seventeen and the boy of twelve, and kick it at the same moment. Crew passes on without a stagger; East is hurled forward by the shock, and plunges on his shoulder, as if he would bury himself in the ground; but the ball rises straight into the air, and falls behind Crew's back, while the 'bravos' of the School-house attest the pluckiest charge of all that hard-fought day. Warner picks East up, lame and half stunned, and he hobbles back into goal, conscious of having played the man.

"And now the last minutes are come, and the School gather for their last rush every boy of the hundred and twenty who has a run left in him. Reckless of the defence of their own goal, on they come across the level big-side ground, the ball well down amongst them, straight for our goal, like the column of the Old Guard up the slope at Waterloo. All

former charges have been child's play to this. Warner and Hedge have met them, but still on they come. The bull-dogs rush in for the last time; they are hurled over or carried back, striving hand, foot, and eyelids. Old Brooke comes sweeping round the skirts of the play, and turning short round, picks out the very heart of the scrummage, and plunges in. It wavers for a moment—he has the ball! No, it has passed him, and his voice rings out clear over the advancing tide, 'Look out in goal.' Crab Jones catches it for a moment; but before he can kick, the rush is upon him and passes over him; and he picks himself up behind them with his straw in his mouth, a little dirtier, but as cool as ever.

"The ball rolls slowly in behind the School-house goal, not three yards in front of a dozen of the biggest School players-up.

"There stand the School-house præpostor, safest of goal-keepers, and Tom Brown by his side, who has learned his trade by this time. Now is your time, Tom. The blood of all the Browns is up, and the two rush in together, and throw themselves on the ball, under the very feet of the advancing column; the præpostor on his hands and knees arching his back,

and Tom all along on his face. Over them topple the leaders of the rush, shooting over the back of the præpostor, but falling flat on Tom, and knocking all the wind out of his small carcass. 'Our ball,' says the præpostor, rising with his prize, 'but get up there, there's a little fellow under you.' They are hauled and roll off him, and Tom is discovered a motionless body.

"Old Brooke picks him up. 'Stand back, give him air,' he says; and then feeling his limbs, adds, 'No bones broken. How do you feel, young 'un?'

"'Hah-hah,' gasps Tom as his wind comes back, 'pretty well, thank you—all right.'

"'Who is he?' says Brooke. 'Oh, it's Brown, he's a new boy; I know him,' says East, coming up.

"'Well, he is plucky youngster, and will make a player,' says Brooke."

We may laugh at this over-excitement, a fair picture of which can only be seen in the full description, which would run over some twenty pages of our book, and is therefore too lengthy for extraction. The Native reader may not see much in it; but it must be borne in mind that a battle would look much the same, "ex-

cept that the boys would be men and the balls of iron."

In "*Tom Brown at Oxford*," there is the description of another amusement, as characteristic of the maturer years of the student as a foot-ball is of his school-days. It relates an university boat-race, which is perhaps the most characteristic of all gymnastic amusements. We must premise that Oxford and Cambridge are both situated on rivers, but they are rivers so narrow that it would be difficult, if not dangerous, for one eight-oared boat to pass another in a race. Hence a system has been devised, which is called "bumping," whereby the boats, instead of starting abreast, are placed at the beginning of a race one behind the other, at short intervals, in a fixed order, and the victory consists in touching some part of the boat in front with the bow. After this feat is performed, the successful boat, in the next race, endeavours to to give another bump, thereby gaining a further advanced place in the list; and then on again, until it wins the coveted honour of being the "head of the river," as it is called—*i. e.*, first of all on the list. Here, then, is an account of a boat-race between the scholars of two

colleges, St. Ambrose's and Oriel, in which Miller is the steerer of the St. Ambrose boat, Tom and Hardy actors in the race, and Drysdale a spectator of it on the shore:—

"After a few moments of breathless hush on the bank, the last gun is fired, and they are off. The old scene of mad excitement ensues, only tenfold more intense, as almost the whole interest of the races is to-night concentrated on the two head boats and their fate. Both make a beautiful start; in the first dash the St. Ambrose pace tells, and they gain their boat's length before first winds fail, and then they settle down for a long steady effort. Both crews are rowing comparatively steady, reserving themselves for the tug of war above. Miller's face is decidedly hopeful; he shows no sign indeed, but you can see that he feels that to-day the boat is full of life, and that he can call on his crew with hopes of an answer. His well-trained eye detects, that while both crews are at full stretch, his own is gaining inch by inch on Oriel. The gain is scarcely perceptible to him even—from the bank it is quite imperceptible; but there it is, he is surer and surer of it, as one after another the willows are left behind....Now there is no mistake about it,

St. Ambrose's boat *is* creeping up slowly but surely. The boat's length lessens to 40 feet, to 30 feet, surely and steadily lessens. But the race is not lost yet; 30 feet is a short space enough to look at on the water, but a good bit to pick up foot by foot in the last two hundred yards of a desperate struggle. There stands the winning-post, close ahead, all but won. The distance lessens and lessens still, but the Oriel crew stick steadily and gallantly to their work, and fight every inch of distance to the last. The Orielites on the bank, who are rushing along, sometimes in the water, sometimes out, hoarse, furious, madly alternating between hope and danger, have no reason to be ashamed of a man in the crew. Another minute and it will be over one way or another. Every man in both crews is now doing his best, and no mistake; tell me which boat holds the most men who can do better than their best at a pinch, who will risk a broken blood-vessel, and I will tell you how it will end. 'Hard pounding, gentlemen; let us see who will pound longest,' the Duke of Wellington is reported to have said at the Battle of Waterloo; and he won. Is there a man of that temper in either crew to-night? If so, now is his time.

For both coxswains have called on their men for the last effort: Miller is whirling the tassel of his right hand tiller-rope round his head like a weary little lunatic: from the towing path, from Christ Church meadow, from the rows of punts, from the clustered tops of the barges, comes a roar of encouragement and applause, and the band, unable to resist the impulse, breaks with a crash into the tune of the *Jolly Young Waterman*. The St. Ambrose stroke is glorious. Tom had an atom of go still left in the very back of his head, and this moment he heard Drysdale's 'view holloa' above all the din; it seemed to give him a lift, and other men besides in the boat, for in another six strokes the gap is lessened; and St. Ambrose has crept up to ten feet, and now to five astern of the Oriel. Weeks afterwards, Hardy confided to Tom, that when he heard that view holloa, he seemed to feel the muscles of his arms and legs turn into steel, and did more work in the last twenty strokes than in any other part in the earlier part of the race. Another fifty yards and Oriel is safe, but the look on their Captain's face is so ominous that their coxswain glances over his shoulder. The bow of St. Ambrose is within two feet of their

rudder. It is a moment for desperate expedients. He pulls his left tiller-rope suddenly, thereby carrying the stern of his own boat out of the line of St. Ambrose's, and calls on his crew once more: they respond gallantly yet, but the rudder is against them for a moment, and the boat drags. St. Ambrose's overlaps. 'A bump,' 'a bump,' shout the Ambrosians on shore. 'Row on, row on,' screams Miller. He has not yet felt the electric shock, and knows he will miss his bump if the young ones slacken for a moment. A young coxswain would have gone on making shots at the stern of the Oriel boat, and so have lost. A bump now and no mistake; and the bow of St. Ambrose's boat jams the oar of the Oriel stroke, and the two pass the winning-post with the swing that was on them when the bump was made. So bare a shave was it. To describe the scene on the bank is beyond me. It was a hurly-burly of delirious joy."

Here we see much pluck, endeavour, and excitement, expended on a worthless object, a barren honour—so much, indeed, that the risk of bursting a blood-vessel is run in order to win. And we cannot but perceive that the spirit which wins an Oxford boat-race is the same

spirit which has won for England her place in history, displaying the steady resolve, undaunted courage, and earnest perseverance after distinction, which distinguish the English nationality, wherever implanted. It is, indeed, very sad to reflect that we have been denied that training which is calculated to implant in us, as shown above, a manly reliance, a sense of national union, and physical hardihood, at the same time while it educates the man in his double relations of the intellectual and the physical being.

Under a foreign government, a people can never rise above a certain amount of material prosperity, and but to a very low point in mental and moral character. Self-government, independence, and patriotism, which, if not the only, are yet the strongest motives to exertion, are denied them. We are far from hereby insinuating that we want self-government; but yet we ask to be prepared for it in our schools and colleges. England cannot hope to be perpetually prominent, and a time may yet arrive when she shall have to yield to retarding influences, and sink into the quiescence of all things mundane; and it is against this contingency that she has to train up her Indian subjects. When the fall is prepared for her

greatness, and she has to withdraw herself from India, let it not be said that she left us in the miserable plight that Rome formerly left her—an easy prey to internal anarchy and foreign invasions,—but with the union and courage of a mighty nation, ready to fight its battle of independence, when needs be.* For this end, the boy must be taught at the school that his own hands are the safeguards of his person and rights, and he will naturally learn in his maturer years to look upon his home as his castle, which he must defend with his individual strength. His hardihood, growing with his growth, and matured with his maturity, will have endurance such as a free and hardy citizen enjoys. At present, however, while feats of strength and agility are not wanting in India, we do not fail to meet with instances in which our best athlete quails before the sight of a European, even though conscious of superior strength of body. The reason is, that the mere muscular development which is seen in our Indian

* If England's destiny be, on the contrary, such as we hereafter describe—to establish an universal freedom in the world,—then the duty that we here point out becomes the more imperative. England's mission in India is undoubtedly to capacitate her to be great and free, and she must work to this end from now, or she proves herself faithless both to God and mankind!

athletes was acquired when the adult stepped into the lists, without that regular training at the school which makes the boy hardy and self-relying before he becomes a man.* The state of things must be altered; and if India is to be advanced politically, and if her sons are to act for themselves as a nation is wont to act, they must be taught to feel, from training and education, that they are the natural protectors of their person and property, and that each individual possesses within himself the spirit and strength required to become a guardian of the national rights of his country.

* This is a safe deduction from the experience gathered from the writer's connection with the Parsee Gymnastic Institution, at Bombay, as a Member of the Committee, for the last two years, as well as his intimate contact during the same period with Native boys—infantine and grown-up—as the head man directing and controlling the Parsee High School associated with it. He has seen boys so timid and weak as actually to faint away at any threatening order, out of fear; but, after exercise for a year or half-year at the gymnasium, becoming so manly and self-relying as to defy any danger. Had boarding been also associated at the school, this change might, perhaps, have been more general, and more wholesome. But the Parsees have been thinking of a boarding-school for last six years at least, without inaugurating any step in the right direction; and, probably, they may only think, for ever!

CHAPTER V.

EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES BEARING ON SUCCESS IN LIFE, AND THOSE WHICH OPERATED ON HARRIS.

EXTERNAL influences from early Teachers.—The Missionary best adapted to be the Teacher of Youth.—Why, however, he is disliked in India.—His undue zeal in the propagation of his Religion.—Mr. Gaster quoted.—The passage between School and Manhood.—How is individual character determined?—Requisites in the moulding of character.—When and where is fate or destiny determined?—The preponderance of the romantic over the sober tendency ruinous.—The fate of Eugene Aram.—The critical pass in the case of Baboo Harrischander how signalised.—His "being born again."

THE external circumstances that determine the future character of any individual are those under which he receives his impressions as a boy, from the schoolmasters at school, or companions immediately after leaving the school; or between that time and the time of passing into manhood. Often the boy is idle, desultory, and mischievous; and it is by some circumstances during his passage from the school to man-

hood that he is changed; it is then, as it were, "a renewing of the mind"—"a being born again"—a transformation—a conversion from "death to life and from darkness to light"—a total change from one species of character into another, occurs. But in the case of Harris, these external circumstances of character were fortunately exerted both at the school and during his passage from youth into manhood. At school, Harris had, as a teacher, one of those remarkable men, who are often to be found in a class too much overlooked. This was a Missionary of the Church of Christ—Mr. C. Piffard,—a wise, good, and kind friend—who had a deep sense of the responsibility he incurred in his endeavours to secure the happiness of his pupils, and to form their moral character—which, though not necessarily Christian, yet should be good and moral withal;—a resolute master, too, who, when his pupil was in the wrong, carried his point, and enforced obedience; a real missionary—for there are false ones also,—fully alive to the importance of his mission; and had, therefore, known nothing but integrity and honour. People think lightly of these men of love and labour: perhaps they have a right to do so—because, in their zeal

and piety, these followers of the Cross are apt to overleap the bounds of propriety in attempting to implant the principles of a Christian life on tender minds of ten and twelve, which, without working at all upon their judgment, yet lay a hold of them too powerful even for becoming respect to parental affections and social ties. These class-philanthropists have done much *for* India, and will do yet more; and but for their undue zeal in seeking to work strong impressions on our young boys at an age when they may as easily be enlisted under the Satanic banner, to try their puny strength against the powers of Heaven, every child of India would find himself entrusted, not through necessity, like Harris, but through choice and better instincts, to a Piffard, a Wilson, or a Mitchell. This circumstance has been well touched on by one of their own order in a recent work—by Mr. Gaster,* though he also has his theory for the propagation of Christianity in India:—"I don't like schools. No, I don't like them at all as a part of a missionary's work among the Mussulmans and heathen. Now, don't mistake me: I do like schools; yes, I do like schools for

* "*Missions in India.*"

Native Christians, both for adults and children, because I believe the sole duty of a missionary in the *educational department* is to raise the standard of the Native Christians. But how can a missionary be bound to prepare a number of Mussulmans and heathen for situations in Government offices? What claim is there on me, or on any other minister of the Gospel, to cram heathen boys with algebra, Euclid, botany, 'the poets,' and a dozen other matters? The reply is, 'By teaching the young such matters, we get them to read the Bible one hour every morning,'—*i. e.*, you use five hours' algebra and botany as a bribe for one hour's Christianity. Depend on it, Christianity needs no bribes whatever—neither intellectual nor tangible—to help it on through the world. If the heathen *will not* hear the Gospel, it is their fault; but pray don't *bribe* them," &c. But, be the case as it stands, it is not to be denied that it was a happy circumstance in the early life of Harris to be under the management of the Rev. Mr. Piffard from the age of seven: it was this, more than anything else, that shaped and moulded the future man of substantial strength, right direction, and noble aims.

But it has been remarked above, that there

had also operated an influence other than this of the school upon Harris, in which Providence seemed to take him most conspicuously by a kindly hand. At the very early age of thirteen he left school: he had made no great progress in learning, and he had no more settled purpose, when he left his form, than the very vague one of falling upon the world to procure a bare livelihood; and it was at this time that he was most perilously situated. The period, reader, between the school and manhood, is the most critical in life. In our grown-up manhood it is that we pause, and look back with interest on the world of circumstances through which life has been drawn. In our retrospective glance, we meet with a number of friends and acquaintances, who have had contact with us; a number of impressions and thoughts that we received from these, and gave to these; a number of exhibitions of virtue that fell to our notice, and excited our admiration and sympathy, as well as, at the same time, of evil, that forced themselves before the eye and awoke natural or forced disgust and abhorrence; a number of books read, or narrations heard, and contemplations and musings, that pictured to the imagination dreams and vanities, which

proved futile as soon as formed;—and all these multitudinous circumstances have had their influences upon us; though we may wonder how all these jarring impressions and incidents conspired, like that imaginary attraction which produces the resurrection of the body by drawing in particles from the hills, wind, dust, and everything, to produce our individual character, without diversity or inconsistency. The reason of this, and which takes away the wonderment, is, that amidst all these jarring and incongruous influences, natural, moral, and intellectual, operating on the individual mind, there is some one of them that is most prominent, and that at once determines its future cast and tendency. Yes; it is from some particular contact, reading, or scene, forcibly impressed on the mind during this period of life, that the future man is determined. Whatever the character of the boy in the school, something now touches the vital chain, and he is snatched away from all earlier habits and tastes, and born again, and lives anew, if the influence and the impression be healthy and wholesome. His latent energies and tastes (these must be naturally good, or the influence is lost) are awakened, ambition is enkindled, and studies

commenced and continued. He comes to it, perhaps, as many do, an idle *boy*, of desultory habits; but leaves it in purpose and career a *man*. He sees its loftiness, catches the infection, Nature whispering within—"You might also do that, if you awake out of your torpor"; and the determination re-echoes, "I must—I will!"—and there the man is stamped. Man sees the mystic lights above world upon world, infinite, incalculable, rolling for ever in a fixed determinate order and course; and in an hour of gloomy dejection and despair, he is tempted to cast up his eyes towards the high vault, and, reading in them his destiny, is apt, in superstitious submission, to question those orbs with impassioned feeling—"Can I look upon you, your determinate order, your fixed orbit, from which you, with all your mighty massiveness, cannot move one atom of your bodies, and not discern therein that I and my fellow-creatures are indeed the poor victims of an all-powerful destiny? Oh! can aught avert the doom predestined to us; will not the change in a mere particle of our fate involve partiality from One who has sternly fixed the destiny of millions mightier than man himself? Away, then, vain efforts, ineffectual prayers: we must move blind-

ly onwards, the wisest or the most foolish; the colours of our existence were doomed before our birth—our sorrows, and our crimes,—millions of ages back, when this hoary earth was peopled by other kinds; yea, ere its atoms had formed one layer of its present soil, the eternal and all-seeing Ruler of the universe, Destiny, or God, or whatever name you may employ, had here fixed the moments of our birth and the limits of our career!" But, repining and blasphemous man, if thou seest aught aright, thy fate, destiny, or whatever thou namest it, has been fixed not long before—not in the antediluvian or yet remoter world; it was fixed only in this world of thine existence: the whole chart of thy life was drawn just before thyself only, twenty, thirty, forty years past—in which the sketches and the colouring were all executed before thine eyes; every line and shade of the future full portraiture were given by a mysterious pencil in the critical pass between school and manhood.

But let it not in the least be understood that there is any attempt here made to attach undue importance to the external influences in early life. That they are very powerful in moulding the man is not to be denied; yet, it

must be admitted, at the same time, that if the inner instincts of the boy be of a gross and ignoble nature—if he feels really at home with low tastes and vulgar habits,—any impression of a wholesome external influence is not only unavailable, but actually ruinous. When in contact with a noble influence or example, he feels himself out of his element; he is mortified, sunk low—and his heart struggles of itself to fly off for the more appropriate and congenial exhibition. Much depends in everything upon the inner self; and often, where neither the external influence nor the inward impulse is pernicious, from the preponderance of the romantic, in earlier youth, over the sober and the discerning, the richest crop has been blighted and withered, the best heart and the noblest mind ruined. The romantic may be of any sort—romantic grief, felicity, imagination, and so forth; but wherever there is a preponderance, there is utter ruin, death, annihilation. That graphic and most acute delineator of human nature, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, has well illustrated this ruin in the character of his Eugene Aram, whose splendid mind, flowing heart, and noble aspirations, were all wrecked through a fatal love of reverie in early life:—

"'It is singular,' said Aram, 'but often as I have paused at this spot, and gazed upon this landscape, a likeness to the scenes of my childish life, which it now seems to me to present, never occurred to me before. Yes, yonder, in that cottage, with the sycamores in front, and the orchard extending behind, till its boundary, as we now stand, seems lost among the woodland, I could fancy that I looked upon my father's home. The clump of trees that lies yonder to the right could cheat me readily to the belief that I saw the little grove, in which, enamoured with the first passion of study, I was wont to pore over the thrice-read book through the long summer days;—a boy—a thoughtful boy; yet, oh, how happy! What worlds appeared then to me to open in every page! how exhaustless I thought the treasures and the hopes of life! and beautiful on the mountain tops seemed to me the steps of knowledge! I did not dream of all that the musing and lonely passion that I nursed was to entail upon me. There, in the clefts of the valley, on the ridges of the hill, or by the fragrant course of the stream, I began already to win its history from the herb or flower; I saw nothing that I did not long to

unravel its secrets; all that the earth nourished ministered to one desire:—and what of low or sordid did there mingle with that desire? The petty avarice, the mean ambition, the debasing love, even the heat, the anger, the fickleness, the caprice of other men, did they allure or bow down my nature from its steep and solitary eyrie? I lived but to feed my mind; wisdom was my thirst, my dream, my aliment, my sole fount and sustenance of life. And have I not sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind? The glory of my youth is gone, my veins are chilled, my frame is bowed, my heart is gnawed with cares, my nerves are unstrung as a loosened bow: and what, after all, is my gain? Oh, God! what is my gain?'

"'Eugene, dear, dear Eugene!' murmured Madeline, soothingly, and wrestling with her tears, 'is not your gain great? is it not triumph that you stand, while yet young, almost alone in the world, for success in all that you have attempted?'

"'And what,' exclaimed Aram, breaking in upon her, 'what is this world which we ransack but a stupendous charnel-house? Everything that we deem most lovely, ask its origin? —Decay! When we rifle nature, and collect

wisdom, are we not like the hags of old, culling simples from the rank grave, and extracting sorceries from the rotting bones of the dead? Everything around us is fathered by corruption, battened by corruption, and into corruption returns at last. Corruption is at once the womb and grave of Nature, and the very beauty on which we gaze,—the cloud, and the tree, and the swarming waters,—all are one vast panorama of death! But it did not always seem to me thus; and even now I speak with a heated pulse and a dizzy brain. Come, Madeline, let us change the theme.'"

Thus the early life of Eugene was passed in passionate yearnings after knowledge: but all his acquisitions did not satisfy him—nothing, in fact, in the world, could satisfy his romance; and just in his critical pass through life—the perilous period between the school and manhood—he gave himself up to calculate his gains and his losses; and brooding moodily, as he did, over some disappointment of a mysterious influence, the bright scholar wrecked his talents, his reputation, his life itself, on his romances.

But this critical pass in life was signalised in the case of Harris with his entry into the service of the Military Auditor General. He

had applied for an increase of only Rs. 3 to his salary at Messrs. Tulloh & Co.'s, and had his application been entertained, he would have remained satisfied—his energy, perhaps, have been gone, and he plodded on in life at the auction counter, without forcing himself out so prominently in after life; but Providence works His designs most mysteriously, and his application was rejected. This led him to present himself at the examination for a vacancy in the Military Auditor General's Office, where, after entry, he came in contact with Mr. Mackenzie, popular even in the odious situation of an Income-Tax Commissioner at Calcutta. This officer was above the narrow-minded prejudices of many of his countrymen. The surly contumacy of hot-brained Englishmen, which despises the Native, was not to be found in the kindly and humane constitution of the Collector; and he freely associated himself with his "nigger" clerk. He entered into the character and the constitution of the mind of Harris, and discovering a powerful intellect, he at once resolved to lead it to a full development. With this view, he introduced him to Colonel Champneys, the Deputy Military Auditor General, another Englishman zealously

devoted to do good to any one who stood in need of him, and extremely anxious to make his clerks intelligent, knowledge-seeking men. He very soon perceived the worth of his obscure copyist, and resolved to promote him to respect and emolument by his patronage, and directed his mind with a stern injunction to books and education. Harris's prospects now brightened: at the very time which should determine the future tendency of his mind, he found himself under the care of Colonel Champneys and Mr. Mackenzie, lending him books containing solid thought and knowledge, not only from their own private collections, but even from the Calcutta Public Library; and Harris read them all with a greedy avidity, feeling the stirrings of a noble aspiration within, God above, and a goal before him.

CHAPTER VI.

HIS ENERGY AND AMBITION DIRECTED TO A SPECIFIC COURSE.

IMPORTANCE of a specific course of life.—Two subdivisions of the better class of *Young India*.—The worst described.—Our so-called *Savants*.—Their vanity and presumption.—Their dishonesty in essays and books.—An audacious attempt of this kind stated.—The fate of a young man who begins to work in earnest.—The daily labours of a so-called *Savant*, and mer of his class.—Observations of contemptible ignorance of the most rudimentary knowledge and learning stated.—The "domestic literary treason" of the elder Disraeli.—Study pursued in India more as a means to rise than as an end in itself.—Want of earnestness and pre-calculation with *Young India* in all his undertakings.—He justly meets with the discomfiture of Alnascar.—Harris prominently distinct in his traits of character.—His pursuit of knowledge as an end, not as a means.—His remarkable zeal after learning.—His manner of spending leisure.—A remarkable scene in the mock Bengalee Temple.—Who achieves success?

As yet we have seen Harris possessing natural general energy and decision, which might not have yielded the fruit they actually have done. These were disciplined by happy external influences—perhaps also increased by them: but this energy, and even talent, might have been

wrecked, and utterly ruined, as in the case of Eugene Aram, but for their being employed in a *specific* course, with success and credit. Two sub-classes of Young India—that is Young India of the first grand division, the hope of India and of the East—have been spoken of in the foregoing pages; one of which is surly, ostentatious, and idle, wholly taken up in the concerns of common life, in the mere mechanical ploddings of a professional pursuit, where there brightens not a single aspiration of a higher motive: dedicated every bit—brain and hands, skill and strength, day, night, and hour —to mere business, ease, and listlessness, they are those hirelings of learning and education, who pursue study, not as an object, but as the instrument of their exaltation, and leave it as soon as their mean purpose has been served. They are like Watson, who gave up his pursuits in chemistry as soon as he obtained a professorship, and did not blush to vent forth the wretched jingle, after attaining his object, that he preferred "larches to his laurels"; and, like him, are actuated in life by that egotistic pride worthy only of the creature of selfism and worldly fame. These have formed a coterie, and having the accident of being somewhat

well established in public opinion (public opinion!—say rather their own self-conceited opinion), pass their time in easy tale-telling—that is, scandalising every rising spirit that ventures to look upon them with just contempt, or make a bold front of rectitude and honesty against the counsels of their pride and egotism. Education—sound, thorough education—has been working its way at least thirty years on this side of India, and with all the vast expenditure bestowed on organising and continuing for so long a period a cumbrous system of sound enlightenment—with all the boasted knowledge of the English language on the part of all our past batches of students—with all their vaunting of being the promoters of civilisation and refinement among the benighted mass of India, —we have not one man of talent or genius from among them to compare with some of the commonest artisans, or persons in indigent circumstances, who have shed a halo of glory round the British name by their writings, inventions, or discoveries! They deem themselves the directors of taste, learning, and—everything; though they can show nothing beyond mere compilations of dictionaries (which, by the way, is a mechanical task, especially after the

results of the labours of Englishmen in this department), and a few essays, in which there is not a single stretch of thought, but a great deal of abstract, and still more of trash.* Ill

* With the exception of Moonshee Mohanlal's "*Journal*," Messrs. Hirji and Jehangir's "*Residence in England*," Mr. Dosabhoy Framji's "*History of the Parsis*," and some tracts of Bal Gangadhar Shastri, we have nothing on this side of India to show even as readable compositions. There are, no doubt, high-sounding "moral essays," "social dissertations," and "civil administration" and "religious" essays—one or two in English, the rest in the vernacular; but they are all compilations, if not dishonest plagiarisms—part from this author, and part from that. It is the conviction of the writer of these pages, that almost all works and essays printed in the vernacular are tinged with a degree of dishonesty disgusting to any honest reader. Often, entire books are plagiarised, and no mention made of the authors; and when the writer is deliberately dishonest, but also intelligent, he endeavours to avoid detection by indenting upon different authors at the same time. The writer has seen a book of moral essays, with the name of the pretended author prefixed, which, even on a superficial reading, reminded him of "*Chambers's Moral Class-book*" (already translated into Gujarati as well as Marathi), and the late Rev. Mr. Nesbit's "*Discourses*." That this practice of indenting upon English authors is not unconscious, is obvious from the fact that the author (we mean of the dishonest plagiarisms) does it with a view to obtain favourable reviews, and tries, in the whole run of his argument, to avoid detection as much as possible, by introducing a sentiment of his own in a line or two here and there. Some five years ago, a most audacious deception of this kind was attempted on the public, and had very nearly escaped all notice. A collection of essays was published in Gujarati, with the name of the would-be author affixed to it,

fares it, then, with any young man who ventures to dispute their dictum, or pursue earnestly a course of reform and enlightenment in his own way; for whenever he touches any one

without any mention—even so much as a passing allusion—being made to the aid derived from another writer. No doubt the work, as reviewed by our Gujarati papers, and judged by the public, was a surprisingly useful one—as much so as Bacon's "*Aphorisms*," which it resembled in many respects. But the only credit due to the audaciously dishonest appropriator was, as subsequently discovered, that he had translated word by word a small English work published in the last century, and now quite out of print!

While advancing such facts as these, it needs not to be stated that the man who felt no moral restraint from such a bold piece of contemptible dishonesty and cheatery with the public, though he affects much, is possessed of but little English learning; and, in his translation, we hesitate not to assert that he has altogether spoilt a fine, thoughtful English treatise, from want of a clear comprehension of the philosophic strain of the essays. The English work, so dishonestly and ignorantly ransacked, was doubtless translated with the view of getting either a name, (but what name is there in being a mere translator?) or making up a little fortune by way of literary profit. Even with this practice, we have not a long list of prints to show. The prospect in Calcutta is, however, far more cheering, and the writer of these pages has been assured by his Baboo correspondent that there are occasionally very creditable works published in his city. The number of *different* tracts and works already published in the Bengalee language he believes from minute inquiry is not far short of *thirteen hundred*; while here, in Bombay, with all the dishonest pretensions on the part of our older students, we cannot show one-fourth of that number.

of these arbitrary *savants*, or their cherished views, the effect is much the same as that caused by catching a gander by the tail—when the whole flock, geese, ganders, goslings, one and all, show a fellow-feeling, and hiss and cackle together. And thus it is that any further progress is checked and retarded in this country.* As for their manner of spending their time, it consists almost entirely in just reading the newspapers, chatting at a library, visiting friends, going to the gardens, where a rich patron is willing to fatten them on rich viands, and besot them on rare wines, without putting them to any expense; writing an article or letter once or twice a month in the papers, speaking disparagingly of the educational department, or jeeringly of the sleeping secretary and members of this association and that; meeting at the bandstand; reproaching the fool-hardiness of a European official in exacting

* It is not to be understood that the whole of our older batch of students have betaken themselves to such a contemptible course of life. There are several exceptions: all that is here meant is an exposition of the state of affairs generally. While this work has been passing through the press, the writer has read of a similar state of social terrorism being rampant also in Calcutta. Discussion is yet rife on this topic, with which the readers of newspapers are doubtless familiar.

from a Parsee cabinet-maker the respect of an approach with unshod feet, and glorying in the courage of a young Parsee in at once retaliating with the whip an insult offered to him; thinking of becoming volunteers to defend the Queen and her throne; and *thus talking and dreaming—et hoc genus omne,*—these complete the discreditable but faithful picture of their days, months, years, and lives! The spirit of improvement from within is totally absent; and it is a sad truth we state, that when one of these, a boasted first normal scholar, occupying a very respectable position, had to write a common statement of facts, in the form of an English letter to his superior, he could not confide in his powers and education, but came down a mile and a half to consult a gentleman or two on his good grammar and bad idiom! The fact of a graduate of our medical college having once walked down from Poona to Bombay, in order to submit orally the report of the dispensary under his charge, from utter incapacity to write it, is too well known to excite any degree of surprise in the reader; and he may also take this as a well authenticated fact—that even one from among those the people are apt to consider as the cele-

brities of Bombay, could not, in a conversation with us, say whether or not Macbeth was Shakspeare's composition, whether or not Hercules ever cleared the Augean stables, whether or not Alexander was a celebrated personage of the fourth century B. C.; and confidently stated that Voltaire was Shakspeare's contemporary, that Buonaparte was born in France, and that he dismembered the kingdom of Poland! It is with no feeling of self-glorification, nor with a desire to speak ill of his countrymen, that the writer of these pages reveals his observations. The task is disgusting to him, and the thought of such an intellectual nonage casts a gloom over his heart: but he would much rather be voted unpatriotic, than be guilty of flattering the self-conceit or the unfounded claims of his educated countrymen. Truth, however mournful, and self-condemnatory, must be told; and it is with this conviction in his mind that he states that this confederacy of blockheadism and vanity exerts the most pernicious influence in retarding earnest progress and sound enlightenment among us. That every silly roisterer, who has the accident of being thrown upon the world before others, and of having acquired what is called

the "pride of office," should exalt himself with a degree of self-complacency as a learned and talented man, because he has written a dishonest essay, perhaps scarcely readable, or mere trash, and puffed up by writers not one whit better than himself, is an offence which no honest individual will ever willingly pardon.* That this spirit of opposition and ignorance does exist in the rising Native society is unquestionable: those who have read what the author calls "the domestic treason" of literature in the "Literary Character of the Men of Genius" of the elder Disraeli, will not find any difficulty in arriving at a full realisation of our sketch; while the state becomes doubly pernicious when we consider that the growing

* It affords a curious illustration of this observation to state that one gentleman, whose education never reached higher than M'Culloch's "*Series of Lessons*," whose worldly position was never better than that of a petty schoolmaster of fifteen or twenty, or that of a common country-printer, once undertook to lecture for full two hours to the writer of these pages on the method of writing articles for a paper, though he had had experience in this line of business for two full years, as well as upon the means of study, in an English conversation, every third word of which betrayed some violation either of grammar or idiom. He holds himself to be of the learned class, competent to criticise every individual, and to suggest, with a low running commentary, how the first should behave and the second should be executed.

youngsters of our schools and colleges are too apt to imitate the pride and sloth of their elders; and the elders—those who initiate them and those who do not—one and all lack a spirit of pre-calculation on the nature and difficulties of their undertaking, steadfast perseverance in it when undertaken, and a final execution of it after thought and labour. Books are shut up so soon as the college or the school is left, and the fresh hero, who has to win his way in the world, enters upon undertakings both in business and in the reform and enlightenment of his country, without a previous patient reflection on their nature and magnitude; he lacks perseverance; he has undertaken them with the mercenary object either of gain or worldly fame; so that when he meets with slight opposition or defeat, he is dissatisfied, and leaves them—perhaps only just commenced. He then runs to others, as blindly as before. Sometimes his abilities, sometimes means, fail him; and he relinquishes these for a third set, again in the same narrow spirit; and thus goes on, stumbling from one failure to another—or, if more fortunate, from one modicum of success to another, which benefits neither him nor his country. The secret of the utter futility of

the thousand and one projects of the Natives, as soon as commenced, is, that they do not pre-calculate the real depth of their mind and extent of their means; nor do they undertake aught in a spirit of thorough earnestness; and it is not wonderful, then, that in attempting to imitate the visionary calculations of Alnascar on his basket of glass-ware, which was so soon to procure for him the Sultan's daughter, they meet with like defeat and ridicule.

With Harris it was different. He had a mind at first to proceed in his studies, and even presented himself at the entrance examination of the Presidency College; but having failed, he on reconsideration resolved to become a man of business. He made his choice, and became a lowly clerk; but, having cast his die, and taken his course, he devoted himself thoroughly to it. At the Military Auditor's Office he entered into his work, from the beginning, with all his heart, soul, strength, and intelligence, and allowed no thought of ease or prospect of fame to interfere with the execution of what he held to be his imperative duty. But a mind like his could not rest satisfied with merely mechanical copying, and it joyfully fled, morning and evening, to the converse of

books. Indeed, it was not possible for an active mind, brought under the fostering care of such high-souled superiors as Mr. Mackenzie and Colonel Champneys, to do otherwise than pass every moment of leisure in the congenial atmosphere of literature, philosophy, political economy, and law;—for these were the heavy studies in which Harris was hearty, earnest, fixed, and united—on which his whole soul was concentrated; and these are precisely the studies which our young students, coming out from the college, sedulously neglect to cultivate. Knowledge, he, unlike his fellow-countrymen,* pursued *for its own sake;* pursued it in business, in leisure, in recreation from professional strain. Look at his taste, his energy, his greed after it: Dr. Duff was to deliver a lecture on mental philosophy in Cornwallis Square, a distance of twelve English miles, going and coming, from Bhowaneepore, in the suburbs of Calcutta, and Harris footed it, alone, without conveyance, and without companions! Where is the youth among us who will incur such physical exertion, even on an exciting occasion, without thought of either? Again, while

* Honorable exceptions, by no means very few, must always be allowed, to every general observation in these pages.

advancing steadily in his professional position, Harris, instead of feeling satiated, and passing his time in idle luxury, sought out amusements which beguiled his hours in happy relaxation, while they sharpened his intellect to that fine acumen of reasoning which distinguished his writings, whether plain or polished, in the subsequent period of his life. Baboo Samboonath Pandit, the Government pleader, then only a Mohurir of the Calcutta Sudder Court, had at this time established himself at Bhowaneepore. His learning, good taste, and kind urbanity, attracted a crowd of educated young men from the vicinity to his house; and among these Harris daily wended his way to the venerable mansion. Luxury was abhorrent to the Pandit, idle chat perfectly disgusting; and in choosing the best method to amuse themselves, the young inmates decided on a law-club, to conduct mock-trials, and discuss the intricacies of law. Brilliant were the discussions nightly held in the room of the Sudder pleader: regulations were framed, and constructions put upon them, with all the enthusiasm and keenness of professional lawyers—presenting, to all intents and purposes, the appearance of the spirit and talents of a Bengalee Inner Temple! There

was on one occasion a fine scene: a lower court passed a decision; the judge reversed it on appeal; the Sudder reviewed the proceedings, and ordered a retrial;—counsel were arrayed on both sides, and opinions advanced with the depth, earnestness, and learning exhibited in actual forensic strife. Regulation so-and-so of this code supported one view, while commentary so-and-so reversed it; the case was analysed, principles sought after, and Harris's ability and shrewdness carried the day. He was warm and earnest in the debate, and his view settled the adjudication. What a bright ornament to the bar was pinned to the dull desk by the caprice of fortune!

And here is a fine lesson for any one to learn. Harris never went to college, and yet he became a great and influential man—one who was admired, while living, for his varied accomplishments, and regretted universally for his beneficence when dead. He was a mere school-boy when he entered life, but, by vigorous study, became famous in the world. It is this, after all, that is of use, and distinguishes between man and man; for no school or college is intended to make the perfect man—and, even were it intended, it were quite impracticable,

in the nature of things themselves. Think of Harris, the son of a beggar Brahmin, tasked to support a family at the early age of thirteen, occupied the whole day in laborious work, and yet reading extensively in English literature, digesting English views, and meditating on English politics. He truly is a model for each one of us to imitate—reading and studying at every stage of his life, from fourteen onwards even to thirty and seven-and-thirty—his last stage of existence,—to prepare himself for the one grand object of his life, the conduct of an English journal with spirit, learning, and success. He had this goal before him. There may be one before every one—as absorbing, perhaps, as the establishment and conduct of the *Hindoo Patriot** was to him; and it behoves every one, therefore, to *prepare himself for it.* There is nothing more likely but that a thousand apples might have fallen before us, dear reader, without awakening any answering thought; and all the apples in the world might have tumbled about us before we arrived, from hints like these, at a knowledge of

* Harris had tried two journals before the establishment of the *Patriot*—the *Bengal Recorder*, already noticed, and the *Hindoo Intelligencer*,—both of which failed.

the universal law of gravitation. The suggestion fitted the mind of Newton, because that mind had been prepared to receive it, by previous study and application. In everything—in matters of discovery or invention; in trade, business, and dealings; in war or politics; in the run of common life; from the obscurity of a penny-a-line scribe to an author of reputation and wealth; from the counter as a clerk to the counting-house as a partner—success will come to him who has prepared himself for its reception.

CHAPTER VII.

IN WHAT RESPECTS WAS HARRIS A GREAT MAN?

A PERNICIOUS conception of greatness.—Genius and talents over-estimated by the world.—Another class of heroes.—Heroes of the heart.—Their fate.—The most apparent not always the most important or most interesting.—Profession of Literature.—Charles Lamb's advice thereon.—Peculiarly apt for *Young India* to bear in mind.—Harris's works.—Patriots of all classes have a family likeness.—Harris no less a Patriot than the greatest patriot of the world.—Harris's real staff of greatness.—The rights and position of a great mind.—Difference between it and the insignificant.

A NOTION, erroneous and dangerous in its tendency, has captivated mankind, that sparkling talents and much intellectual pomp are real eminence and dignity. Want of real discernment has led to thus placing boundless faith in brilliant and magnificent minds—in fact, in mind as mind; and who does not acknowledge that this is carried to an unworthy extreme in this country—this idolatry of the human mind—this worship of the idol of endowed

intelligence? Indeed, it cannot be otherwise in a country which lacks it to such a shameful extent, and where every writer swells himself into the importance of an author of eminence. True, we cannot find fault with the tendency; for where would our race have been had talents and genius never lent their ministering influences; what revolutions—material, intellectual, social, moral, political—do not owe their origin to the majesty of their power?

We may award to genius and splendid talents their real worth; but it is not the less to be recollected on that account that the truly great men have been those earnest workers in the cause of humanity who, without heeding the noisy glory of the world, take their stand-point on a surer foundation than passing fame—aspiring to become known among the spirits in Heaven, if unknown among men on earth. Are they not real heroes, who lived with their hearts directed now upwards in holy communion with the music above, and then downwards, alleviating the wrongs of suffering humanity; and yet, how many such realised the true purpose of their life, even though their lot was cast in the ranks of humble life, never so much as emerging from the dull round of ordinary toil? Yes,

many have lived thus, and made no sign; and their names, without commanding any ostentation, have passed away as quietly after death as they lived in life. Ah! but does genius never sink into oblivion? Who knows but in name Occam, Acquinas, or Erasmus, who swayed the whole world of letters in their time? What has become of Salmanasius, for whom Queen Christina of Sweden prepared the fire with her own hands? How much are Cowley and Waller, in their days in the height of popularity and fame, now read and remembered? Is splendidness always in something perceptible, something great executed? Who sees the roots thrown out or the flowers growing in full verdure? No; the deepest work is always out of sight—the flower is developed, but the process is hidden: and the real man often lives unseen, without crying in the world—"See: I am here!"

Now Harris was of the latter class. So far as we can claim for him the epithet *great*, we are quite content that his greatness should not be anything of ostentation and noise. He did not enter life, as Coleridge says of Chatterton,

"Sublime of hope and confident of fame!"

And even if he had the stuff, he calculated wisely in his choice. When Bernard Barton, the Quaker Poet, held the situation of a clerk in the Bank of Woodbridge, in Suffolk, he contemplated abandoning his profession for the chances of a literary life. He communicated his design to Charles Lamb, asking him for advice, and he was replied to in awful but stern truth—"Throw yourself on the world, without any rational plan of support beyond what the chance employ of booksellers would afford you! Throw yourself rather, my dear Sir, from the steep Tarpeian rock, slap-dash, headlong upon iron spokes. If you have five consolatory minutes between the desk and the bed, make much of them, and live a century in them, rather than turn slave to the booksellers. They are Turks and Tartars when they have poor authors at their beck. Hitherto you have been at arm's-length from them—come not within their grip. I have known many authors want for bread—some repining, others enjoying the blessed security of a country-house; all agreeing they had rather have been tailors, weavers—what not,—rather than the things they were. I have known some starve, some go mad, one dear friend literally dying in a workhouse. Oh!

you know not—may you never know—the miseries of subsisting by authorship!"

Perhaps there may be some exaggeration here; but though the state of affairs have materially changed since Sir E. B. Lytton taught his countrymen that the world must know "it is not charity but tribute which they owe to genius,"* so as to give the direct lie to the bickerings of Charles Lamb, it is true to the very word in this country, where the mass wallows in ignorance, and the rich in utter apathy and luxury. Harris, in attempting at all to enter the line of authorship, should, like the majority of his young countrymen, have miscalculated his position, and wrecked himself utterly. He had no other ambition, the jealousy of the British Government having denied him; and the only one left to him was that of the common journalist, any higher aspiration than which was but coveting frustration, and drawing ridicule, contempt, and ruin. The thought moved in his mind at the early age of twenty,†

* "*Not so bad as we seem*"—a play by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Bart.

† In the beginning of 1860, the writer of these pages had some correspondence with Baboo Harrischander on a subject of some moment, when, inquiring of each other his past career, he wrote this fact.

when, communicating it to his kind superiors, he received it as their earnest advice to make the cause of his suffering countrymen the first, last, and only theme of his writings. He came out, impressed with an awful sense of the dignity of his self-imposed task; opposed every fraud, every injustice and wrong, with the firmness of principle and the force of enthusiasm, and commenced war against the grasping policy of the Dalhousie Government. He was opposed, ridiculed, and scorned, as a "nigger" and a "pandy," and his writings denounced as "ungrammatical howlings"; but as his resolution was fixed, nothing daunted him in his career, and he revealed dark forebodings. But writers and statesmen at times villify even themselves—

> "Each lolls his tongue out at the other,
> And shakes his empty noddle at his brother";

and they could not refrain from hitting hard at the "perverse patriot." But Harris remained calm. All wish, certainly, they could lay claim to that celebrated motto of Justice Whisted, which Swift made those pungent verses upon—

> "Libertas et natale solum."

People are very willing to draw contrasts between the characters and deeds of differ-

ent patriots: but though these be ever so different—from the wily assassination of a sovereign to the glorious success on the battle-field, they (the patriots) have one family likeness, of the most apparent kind. The assassin who was excited to slay the French General, Kleber, was of the same stuff mentally as Mutius Scævolla or William Tell. He believed, no matter if wrongly, yet he believed earnestly, that he should free his country from the strain of a tyrant, and make sure work by striking him down, receiving gladly the horrible tortures which the Government of the country prescribed for him. So Scævolla thrusts his right hand into the blazing fire, and sternly assures the king that there are four hundred youths in his country as brave as he. And so did Harris rise against an overwhelming force, and struggle hopelessly, yet manfully, to assure his Government, that in their fatal policy they were nearing the brink of a precipice. He fought not with common weapons, nor suffered any physical tortures; yet he was not the less a patriot. He had no faith in the bayonet or the sword: his gun was his pen, his gunpowder his ink; yet he acted not the less patriotically in enforcing the recognition of the rights of his

country. His warnings were verified; and a sad tragedy followed on the heels of his words. Now was his real character discerned. People thought, from his denunciations, that he was a rebel at heart, and that his restless energy would soon exchange the pen for the sword. In times of social risings, men of impetuous and untiring energy have always added their own weight to the balance of confusion, carnage, and ruin of the country. France teems with numerous illustrations; England herself is not wanting in this dark scene. But this Indian of activity and energy always measured his position: in early life he had come in contact with the very best and most powerful representatives of that calm glory-achieving people—Englishmen. He knew the strife was unequal; he also knew it was injudicious; and stood, therefore, in the troublous times of the rebellion, boldly by his Government, singing more loyally than ever—*God save the Queen!* After the storm subsided, he rose placidly to propound his notions of government, and claim the just rights and privileges of his country. A zealous member of the British India Association, he made appeals and protests; and proprietor and editor of a respectable English hebdomadal, he gave

depth and extension to his cause; and asserting thus a powerful voice, the cause of India and the Indians became the spirit of the age. He became the man of his day, his class, and connections; so that when he stood up in awful majesty for the oppressed ryot, others—missionaries, writers, Englishmen, Government themselves, followed in the train, and relief came positive in prospect. It was *great heroism* this! the "haughty island-nation," with all their imperfections the first for ability and power in the world; the most difficult to win, impossible to subdue; the quickest in their perception of pretence and show; the most unshrinking in their demonstration of contempt and indifference; the most unrelenting in their demands for something worth hearing, if the man wishes to be heard; and the most equitable in the long run, let us unequivocally add, in their recognition of merit,—with this nation, we say, Harris occupied a respectable position in public estimation, and continued to dictate, suggest, and advise. Voltaire, with all his imperfections the best satiric painter of human nature, very briefly solves the problem of the right and position of a great mind, when in one of his happiest hits—"Le Fanaticisme"—he strikes wonder-

ment into the heart of Zopire at the audacity of Mahomed in changing and reforming the entire position of his country, and burst forth at length in the long-hovering query—

"Quel droit as-tu reçu d'enseigner de prédire,
De porter l'encensoir et d'affecter l'empire?

"Mahomet
Le droit qu'un esprit vaste, et ferme en ses desseins
A sur l'esprit grossier des vulgaires humains."

There! the whole solution is offered: What right has any man to command?—Why, the "right of a vast mind, *firm in its designs*, over the lowly-minded of the common multitude." Write this, reader, on thy soul; have this as thy guide, and thou shalt succeed: the difference between the feeble and the strong, the insignificant and the great, has always been FIRMNESS—UNSHAKING DETERMINATION;—a purpose once fixed in the mind, and then DEATH OR VICTORY!

CHAPTER VIII.

THE POETRY OF HIS HEART.

FEELING nature of his character.—Poverty unlocks the best sympathies of the heart.—Harris's grateful remembrance of past favours.—Emotion at mention of the name of his first kind Teacher.—His irrefragable ties of gratitude and reverence to Colonel Champneys.—His neglect of self-interest and advancement for the sake of the Colonel.—Harris and Rammohun Roy.—Military glory and valour not wanting in India even in her degenerate days.—Her intellectual vigour yet unsurpassed.—Social battle is the last achievement of humanity.—India has yet to fight it.—Harris did not commence it.—Nor has it yet commenced.—The Social Science Association in England.—A similar Institution for India recommended.—Necessity for Educated Natives travelling in India.—An "Indian Travelling Fellowship."—Natives alone capacitated to describe social anomalies.

BUT that trait in the character of Harris which procured for him the proud title of the "Indian Lucullus" in the vivid pages of Russell's *Diary in India* is worthy of separate consideration. His heart was of the noblest—ever glowing to assist the poor, ever ready to sympathise with all that was high and estimable. His ready zeal to assist the poor and the oppressed may be

explained—we must once more recall it—as the result of the influence of poverty in early life. The man, we may justly say, who has not suffered, is unfit to be the minister of beneficence to others. We are all made alike, though not all suffering; and though there is a nobler, because severer kind of suffering, than that arising from mere poverty and external circumstances, yet to the poor man, the pinchings of his own state bring up vividly before his mind and heart the sufferings of others from a similar condition of things. Thus it is that the inner sympathies of the heart are unlocked; thus it is that some of the grandest lessons of humanity are brought home to the bosom and business of man; and were the rich and the poor to change positions for a short term, beneficence and sympathy would be far more active and expansive in our world than they have hitherto been, or will otherwise ever be. There are natures, no doubt, which are not proof against poverty: when it comes to them, their affections are scorched;* they grow impatient;

* Indeed, it cannot be otherwise in this country, where, after reading the chapter on the condition of woman in India, the reader perceives an utter want of early religious instruction in the domestic circle.

they droop and pine away, blaming God and cursing fate;—but when it comes to a right-minded man, he sustains it manfully, sustains its fires unscathed, and in the midst of burning sensations, looks up with a reverential eye to the Creator, blessing His dispensations, and blessing also his destiny; and from that time forth "comes out with harp in hand, qualified to be the minister and instructor of his race, a strong spiritual nature battling with despair, light as of old contending with darkness."

"Did God set His fountains of light in the skies,
That man should look up with tears in his eyes?
Did God make this earth so abundant and fair,
That man should look down with a groan of despair?
Did God fill this earth with harmonious life,
That man should go forth with destruction and strife?
Did God scatter freedom o'er mountain and wave,
That man should exist as a tyrant and slave?—
Away with so heartless, so hopeless a creed,
For the soul that believes it is darkened indeed!"

Hard, indeed, it may have been, to keep fast faith in God and life under circumstances such as were unmistakeably Harris's in the early part of his life—impressed, as they were, with absolute beggarism, and saddened by every disappointment when he threw himself on the world; but he bore them patiently and unmur-

muringly, and it was owing to this ordeal, through which life was passed for more than twenty long years, that he learnt the wholesome lessons of humanity. Besides his kindly and sympathising nature, his heart was full of the most ardent and generous feelings, of the deepest gratitude to those who had rendered him any assistance at one time or other of his existence. It has already been stated that Mr. Piffard was his first teacher at the Bhowaneepore Charity-school. His extreme kindness, and zeal in the interest of his pupil, had engendered feelings of the sincerest gratitude in the heart of Harris, so that on one occasion, in after life, in the plenitude of his power and position, when he met Mr. C. Piffard (the son, of the Calcutta bar) at a friend's residence, and who in conversation communicated to Harris the name of his father, its very recital brought up bright memories of the past, and swelled his bosom in grateful remembrance, until he burst out before a numerous company of both friends and strangers into tears of joy. Again, when, in the mock-court at Baboo Samboonath's, he displayed his clear judgment and shrewd analysis in settling the knotty points of their miniature code, his friends advised him to give up

the writership under the Military Auditor, and assume his proper position under the Judge. But he remained firm, simply through feelings of grateful remembrance, to the profession which supported him in adversity, and justified his decision by maintaining *that his situation as a clerk left him greater leisure than otherwise to aid the poor*, by advice, and by petitions and letters, which every wrong-doer read with the blush of shame and the pallor of anticipated defeat. But in addition to this self-sacrificing spirit, Harris had another reason, too deeply-rooted in his bosom ever to be eradicated, for continuing in the Military Auditor General's Office, while he might successfully have shone at the bar. He did mention it once to a friend, not with a view to parade his virtue, but in the sacred confidence of friendship—as a reply, once for all, to the recommendations of others,—that it was his feelings of gratitude that bound him in irrefragable ties to Colonel Champneys, and that so long as his benefactor remained connected with that department, he would not leave it for the world! No argument, no taunt, no ridicule, effected any change in his resolution; and even when he broke through it, and em-

boldened himself to resign, a feeling word from the Colonel planted him yet more firmly at his desk. Harris never wrote poetry; but if poetry is *feeling* with the beautiful and the true, there is poetry in all this: and what is more than this, in his whole course of life, Harris, like many of his unostentatious class among all nations, did more than the greatest poet of Europe—*he acted and lived poetry.*

Such is Harris, as his character and his course of life unfold themselves to any individual who reflects upon them. Such he is in his constitution and traits, his labours and his fortune, his life and death. In the foregoing pages, there has been laid down nothing but what may be borne out by facts. There he is, a model of noble humanity for the copier—with no pretensions to genius, no astounding talents, no prose or poetry about him. He is simply a person of good common sense, of ordinary powers; but of firm purpose, diligent perseverance, steady self-study; true to his trust, true to himself; honouring and honoured, loving and beloved. He has only one shortcoming in his whole career—but this is one

to be eschewed: he was a political reformer, without being the social and the moral reformer also; and in this respect he stands in a painful contrast with another noble Indian—the great Rammohun Roy, buried thirty years ago in Bristol.

Education on western principles has done much for India, and is destined to do still more; national conceit will yield to knowledge, and superstition decay before progress; but yet, if the history of this very country, if not of the world itself, demonstrates one thing more distinctly than another, it is this, that it is perfectly unsafe to put any great reliance on political, or even on intellectual ability. Have we not had political freedom of yore?—have we not had martial glory in our time? A writer,* destined to live as long as the English language exists, spoke only too truly of our country, even in her later degeneracy, when he called it "a region of Asia equal in extent to the whole of Europe (exclusive of Russia), with a population of more than a hundred and forty millions, all of them aliens in blood, language, and religion; and many consisting of warlike tribes, so *gallant and brave* as to have again and

* The Rev. Dr. Duff.

again repelled the combined hosts of the Moslem conquerors with a heroism not unworthy of the *best sons of Greece.*" Again, do we lack intellectual splendour? Before Greece was peopled, or Rome colonised, we had attained a height of intellectual glory—of achievements in poetry, philosophy, mathematics, and science —which remains yet unapproached by the most polished nation on the earth. Search poetry, philosophy, mathematics, or science, and there is but one thought, and let that thought be spoken by the best of judges:—"The Æneid of Virgil extends to about twelve thousand lines, the Iliad of Homer to double that number; but the Ramayana of Valmika rolls on to a hundred thousand, while the Mahabharatha of Vyassa quadruples even that sum." Many of the other sacred books extend to a voluminousness quite as amazing. The four Vedas, when collected, form eleven huge volumes; the Purans about two millions of lines! In one of these it is gravely asserted, on divine authority, that originally the whole series of Purans alone consisted of one hundred *kotis*, or a thousand millions of stanzas; but as four hundred thousand of these were considered sufficient for the instruction of man, the rest were reserved for

the gods. Well might Sir William Jones say, "Wherever we direct our attention to Hindoo literature, the notion of infinity presents itself; and sure the longest life would not suffice for a single perusal of works that rise and swell protuberant, like the Himalayas, above the bulkiest compositions of every land beyond the confines of India."* Even now, how high are we in point of mental vigour, yet where are we left? Some of our countrymen, if not many, can dispute the palm of intelligence and learning with the best of England's scholars; but yet the latter have a moral vigour, a habit of spending time rightly and earnestly, and of attempting thoroughly whatever they undertake. We have intellectual vigour, but no moral stamina; and the reason is obvious—no one from among us has earnestly directed his attention to the science of sociology; and of the numerous books and essays printed, and cries raised in this country, scarcely any has deemed this science of modern growth sufficiently engrossing to apply its principles to the removal of the harrowing evils of our hearths. The English in England, so pre-eminently advancing in hu-

* The Rev. Dr. Duff.

manity and wisdom with the advancing tide of civilisation and fortune, have had their attention directed to various social evils in their country, the remedying of which their writers and statesmen have gradually been awakening to appreciate as a necessary preparation for the yet further extension of political rights. There is an association, the *Social Science Association*, in that country, whose name sufficiently indicates the object of the institution, as well as the importance of the subject we are now dilating on, and which counts more than two thousand members ; and another, the *Ladies' Association*, consisting exclusively of female members, to co-operate with the male association in their mission of social regeneration. Lord Brougham, Lord J. Russell, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, have given addresses at the yearly meetings ; and France and Russia have combined to rival each other in the display of their interest in the working of the Association and its objects.

Though first in thought, social elevation is undoubtedly the last in time ; and it is but as it should be that India, after fighting its intellectual and political battles, may only now gird up its loins for social victory. It is difficult to

define what is sociology, though it is easy to say what it is not. It is not political economy, nor statistics, nor politics, nor ethics, though it borders closely on all these. But we must caution our countrymen that it is not, nor does it border on, what has been styled socialism in England, which is certainly no new doctrine, and which has come down to us from the time of Plato in one phase or other, and under one representative or other. Sociology, as we conceive it to be, teaches one lesson, which is much needed everywhere, but more in India—that a people's prosperity mainly depends *on themselves;* their fate and their future are in their own hands, and in their's alone. Well has a great statesman, Guizot, characterised as a "gross delusion, the belief in the sovereign power of political machinery." To this is evidently to be ascribed the many social anomalies in the French people; and they repeatedly err, and therefore naturally fail, in attempting to reform their political status, without at first reforming their social position—thus illustrating with significance Sir J. Mackintosh's remark, "Constitutions cannot be made; they grow." Lord Shaftesbury, in one of his late addresses at the Social Science Association, observes it, with

much correctness, to be one of the good effects of social science, that "it is no small success to have taught the people to see that to cry out A law! a law! on all occasions of an evil felt, or an evil detected, is to check private individual and combined exertion, and to keep men from the wholesome conviction that *in many matters they must be a law unto themselves.*"

But how little has this observation been understood in this country? Our spirited journalists often ask, with a sneer at the British Government, what they have done to alleviate the miseries of the mass? We rather ask the educated youth what *they* have done for the people? It is complained, and rightly, we admit, that Englishmen leave a dangerous chasm between themselves and the educated Natives, to whom any consideration of respect or regard is seldom, if ever, awarded; but the fact is, that there exists as deep a gulf between the educated and uneducated Native as between the former and the English people, and on which he expends so much of discontent and anger. But it never occurs to him that the pride and exclusion he so much detests in his English master characterises his

disposition and actions towards the poor mass of the people, whose thousand and one social miseries (we have no faith in political elevation, we repeat) he contents himself to look upon with unpatriotic apathy and inhumanity. He may expose the planter's cruelties and unfairness; he may try to prevent the passing of the obnoxious and unstatesmanlike contract-law; but what avail these, if his own ryot countryman has no sense of his personal dignity and rights, and blindly rushes, through sheer necessity or perverse wrong-headedness, into the very cruelties, from which there has been so much done to liberate him?—like those slaves of the sugar-plantations in the other world, who would rather be slaves, and who pray for a return to their old masters, after their emancipation! The educated Native thinks nothing of the poor people; he is indifferent about them, save when they afford to him his political hobby to ride upon; but herein he forgets that his own rise in his much coveted political field depends upon the amelioration of the masses, who will always be a drag and a chain on him. In ignoring the masses, he plays the *rôle* of the philosopher who, being disturbed in his study, by the servant informing him that part of his

house was on fire, coolly replied, "Tell your mistress; you know I don't attend to household concerns!"

What lies at the basis of all good government is the social condition of the people; and if our educated countrymen desire to secure good government for their country, the social state of the masses must be studied and ameliorated. There are various *debating societies* in this island, and perhaps in all the principal cities of India; but everywhere there has unfortunately been brought before the meetings some abstract of a subject or a book already better treated by European authors, or a half political thesis, exciting discontent and false hopes, which we have always deprecated and condemned, as we would have our debating clubs discuss social topics only, and aim at *practical* results and reforms. We do not expect that from among us—the neglected class of educated Natives, who are for the most part only able to keep our bones and flesh together—social reformers will at once rush into the wretched hovels of our population, devoting nights and days, and the contents of our pockets, to rescuing our fellow-countrymen from misery and the anomalies of life that sink the man

into the animal; but yet we do expect patriotic attention to and study of their manners and condition, and some attempt at national regeneration. The Government have done their task; they have rendered us capable of investigating and reporting; aye, and they have done more—they have supplied us with cheap and comfortable means of locomotion—they have opened railways, which in a few short hours, and at a low rate of charge, take us into the miserable villages in the interior of our country. Why do not our educated young Natives then travel, and observe, collect information, and carefully study the condition of the mofussil?

While writing this, information reaches us, that at the suggestion of the present learned Principal of the Elphinstone College, Sir A. Grant, Bart., a Bania of the "upper ten thousand" meditates subscribing a handsome sum for the foundation of a "travelling fellowship" to Europe for the benefit of the Hindoo *alumni* of the college: but, though we applaud both the suggestion and the liberality, we wish the fund were diverted to travelling in our own country, and the "fellow" or "fellows" occupied in publishing observations at intervals, at the close

of the term of the fellowship. Natives can investigate and write, if not suggest, regarding Native society—its intricacies and its miseries, —which it were vain for Englishmen to endeavour to do. We know several English authors, pretending to pourtray "manners of the Hindoos" and the like; but with all respect to the learning and shrewdness of our English writers, we must confess we have always laughed at the idea. Exceptions are confounded with examples, enforced superficialities with constitutional traits, and in various cases the task has been executed in the ridiculous spirit of that unsophisticated Marquis, who, after only a few months' residence in Russia, wrote more than one volume upon everything—the geography, topography, politics, statistics, ethics, sociology, &c. of the empire; proclaiming, with dramatic effect, "that he saw nothing, but guessed everything"!

We are strong in our affirmation; but Englishmen will allow that as it is difficult for Frenchmen to understand the people of *perfide Albion*, so also is it difficult for Englishmen to understand their "volatile neighbours." To come yet closer, and more forcibly to illustrate the immense difficulty of foreigners (even

of the same descent) understanding the Natives accurately, an American writer mentions he was twenty-five years in Scotland, and thought he understood the Scotch; but on going into England, and residing there also twenty-five years, he felt convinced that he understood neither the Scotch nor the English! Need our appeal, then, to our educated Natives, to observe, study, and describe the state of Indian society, breaking faith with their English friends, require for its earnestness a better illustration?*

* A learned gentleman at Calcutta, a personal friend of Harrischander, supplies a gap connected with the deceased patriot in the literary line: he states that the late Baboo exerted himself in behalf of the poor and illiterate ryots of Bengal, not only by exposing the cruelties of their oppressors in the columns of the *Hindoo Patriot*, but spared no pains to write memorials for them to Government, and to organise means for procuring legal assistance to them in the conduct of cases, and for general advice on the subject. He even went the length of helping them with money from his own scanty pocket. This is undoubtedly patriotism of an uncommon sort in India; and while its display attracts ten times more admiration than it otherwise would, from the painful contrast in which our now well-to-do, vain, and half-literate older students, with but very few exceptions, stand on this island, in comparison with it, we regret that the zealous patriot did not devote the same exertions towards ameliorating the social position of the cultivators. That he has died doing good to the masses of Bengal, none will deny; but that good was only temporary—such as relieved the ryots

from being ground down by the cruelty and chicanery of the planter, into which state he has as much chance as before of again at some future time falling, and the effects of which will, we believe we may openly assert, though at the risk of offending some thin-skinned individual, die out. We mean no offence to the memory of one, whom, while living, we esteemed the most, and when dead regretted sincerely. We say that it was in his power to do permanent good to the cultivating masses in his immediate vicinity, but that he unfortunately missed his opportunity. May his name and his memory be an encouragement to others of his countrymen to carry out those exertions and that philanthropy which distinguished the political reformer in that line of genuine reform where they are so pre-eminently required.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LONGEST, BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT CHAPTER IN THE BOOK: REGENERATION OF INDIA.

Two theories for the amelioration of the people.—Which preferred.—Danger from the present hopeless condition of the people.—The Empires of the World.—Of the Cæsars, Baber, and Napoleon.—Uniqueness of British domination.—The present time pre-eminently fitted for undertaking the task of Popular Education in India.—Review of the History of Indian Education.—Its three epochs.—Government System of Education faulty.—Distinction between general and special education.—Every man, however low and grovelling, receives all life long some education or other.—In India there is in one sense no general education.—Percentage of boys that finish a complete course of general instruction.—A mournful question.—Necessity of rendering Colleges self-supporting.—Grounds for viewing the measure as easy of accomplishment.—Percentage of boys receiving elementary education.—The state of this education.—Number of Schools in the Bombay Presidency.—Statistics of Population in the different divisions of British India.—The educational requirements of each calculated in comparison with some of the States of Europe.—With reference to Primary Schools.—With reference to Teachers.—Unfitness of the present Staff even in the highest English Seminary.—The number of Normal Colleges and of Inspectors required.—The people too poor to join the Schools.—Their popular notions on Englishmen's leaving

India for their Mother Country.—Great misapprehension among Englishmen with reference to the wants of the people.—Advocacy of the German method of popular instruction.—Striking resemblance in the state of Germany and of India.—Our present system of education not essentially differing from the German, though so popularly taken.—Mere Schools and School Training ineffectual to work any change among the people.—The French *Colportage* described.—Establishment of a Committee for the diffusion of knowledge advocated.—The present state of Prose and Poetry in the Vernacular.—The establishment of Clubs advocated.—What is our present national strength and vigour?—A new order of thought and morality, as yet unknown to the world, evolved in India.—A Summary of our Scheme.

As yet we have only spoken of Baboo Harrischander and of his class; but incomplete would be any treatise on India, in which there is nothing said of the millions, helpless, hopeless, and ignorant, that inhabit its vast tracts. Baboo Harrischander fought for the ryot; why then not cast a glance on the poor tiller, and see if anything can be proposed for his amelioration? The really educated class of Young India form but the minority; so small, indeed, as to measure only a few drops of water in a long arm of the sea; and though the future enveloped in this minority may justify any long and exclusive dissertation, we have at the very outset promised to invite the reader to the ignorant and the lowest. It would be a long and arduous task to describe

their condition as it is at present, and the requirements it imperatively asks for; but yet we might say our say on their amelioration by the highest nobility. How shall we treat of them? Shall we treat of their *rights*, their material well-being? No; all the acts of the French Revolution, and of others which followed in its wake, were the consequences of a declaration of the "rights of man." The philosophers and the statesmen (and they were convertible terms at the time) of France took up the theory of liberty and of material well-being as the basis of their labours. They threw down all the obstacles that opposed this theory; they conquered liberty—conquered it only to the extreme of libertinism. Religion was chased out; moral restraint or the restraint of society removed; and the population left without the unity of religion or the unity of a constituted society. They taught only to enjoy liberty and material well-being, and the people followed, one and all, their own interest and advancement, not caring whether on their way they trampled on the heads of their brethren—brethren only when the expression was to be used, but enemies when liberty was to be gained! To this we had once come, and to this we will

again come, if we recur to the theory of liberty, which, whenever and wherever it has been sought for as the *end*, has ultimately led to the saddest of results. When under the emperors, the ancient Romans contented themselves with demanding *panem et circenses:* they were the most abject race possible; and after suffering all the oppression of their emperors, they became the passive slaves of the barbarians who conquered them. When the theory of rights is taught, the nation rises in insurrection and annihilates the organisation of society, until, tired of anarchy, it willingly offers itself to worse tyrannies and oppressions; and under the theory of material well-being it becomes egotistic, a worshipper of the material, without the virtues of independence, generosity, good faith, &c. of a rightly constituted society. Both afford temporary relief—one while it satisfies the idea of liberty, the other while it provides present wants —and may in this respect be looked upon as one. One is sought after in a moment of excitement, the other in that of abjectness; but as happily we are neither excited nor abject, the point in our aim ought to be to find a principle superior to any theory of temporary relief—a principle of improvement, as well as of unity. This princi-

ple is education—the principle which embodies the whole of our doctrine of amelioration. Indeed, with us, all material amelioration is the *means*, and not the *end*, to be aimed at; for as an individual immersed in poverty is forbidden all means of educating himself or his children, he need change his material condition only that he may morally develope himself. This is his duty; and to this alone, leaving aside all other requirements of the dumb millions of India, we address ourselves in this chapter.

This chapter may seem unimportant or impertinent; but if it be conceded that the entire mass of the people of India is immersed in utter poverty, and know not how to rise—that they have, in fact, nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by a change of masters, and hope for the day when their country may be in a temporary interregnum—and that they have no comprehension nor idea of the excellence or otherwise of any Government in the abstract, much less of the British, the burthens of which they already hate and curse—then the full magnitude of the importance of the subject-matter of this chapter, seemingly so useless and extraneous, will readily be recognised, accepted, and even enhanced. Nations do not,

like individuals, "rather bear the ills they have than fly to others which they know not of"; on the contrary, they strenuously exert themselves to get rid of the burthens they feel to be galling and troublesome; and when their condition is perceptibly deteriorating,* until it becomes utterly hopeless, without the moral faith to bear it with resignation, they eagerly catch at any prospect, however remote, of relief; and every one will readily admit that there is no foe more dangerous to the country than an internal one, whose condition is desperate, and who has never had his moral nature well trained and developed by healthy discipline in early life. The rebellion of the Jacquerries in France has well demonstrated the fury of ignorance; and there is every reason to suppose that the outbreak of the Bengal soldiery would have been redeemed of half its enormity if education had already permeated the lower ranks of Indian society. The duties of Government, in spite of what

* An inquiry into the condition and requirements of the people in the political point of view is pregnant with great interest and importance; and though many treatises have been written, there is ample room for a candid and well ascertained exposition, especially by a *Native*. The writer of these pages has himself attempted something on this subject, but he waits for a better opportunity and field for publication.

selfishness dictates and tyranny enforces, are now being slowly but steadily recognised and accepted in every country of the world. They are now comprehended in the defence of the empire from external invasion, the repression of internal violence, the impartial distribution of justice, the preservation of an equilibrium, if not a surplus, in the exchequer, the encouragement of trade, the development of the country's natural resources, the construction of roads and other works of public utility, and the social advancement of the people; but the accomplishment of these objects, the recognised function of Government, is attended with no ordinary difficulty;—but the difficulty is considerably diminished where rulers obtain the co-operation of an intelligent and spirited population.

But it is not solely from a policy-view of the question that we would urge the necessity of the education and moral amelioration of the millions of India. When one considers the manner in which this magnificent empire has been subjugated by an insignificant island in the extreme border of Western Europe, he must needs acknowledge that India has been consigned to the guardianship of England for higher

ends than to open a market for her manufactures, and afford scope for the ambition and avarice of a portion of her population. There is no merit in the achievement of the conquest of a country of the size of nearly the whole of Europe by a handful of warriors; for instances enow there have been of empires formed under grander auspices, attaining to an earlier maturity, and extending over wider tracts of peopled territory. Alexander acquired possession of his world-wide conquests in a short period of twenty years. The Romans under the first Cæsars were masters of all Europe, and some of the finest parts of Asia and Africa. Timour conquered by his own arms the whole of Asia, including this very peninsula, which it has taken a century for England to make her own. Napoleon threatened at one time to be the real or ostensible master of all Europe. The empire of Russia occupies nearly a sixth of the whole of the world. Independently of India itself, the extent of England's power is as wide as that of any of the large empires of the world, ancient or modern. But the growth of her Indian empire is unique for all that. In the whole range of history, there is not to be found anything that, in front of a meagre adaptation

of limited means to a desired object, would bear a parallel with the lasting conquests achieved by England on the plains of India. Alexander and Napoleon undoubtedly achieved great conquests; but love of glory and aggrandisement being their only inspiration, they made acquisitions greater than they could sustain, and the empires that they founded were soon lost by their own weakness or the weakness of their successors. The conquests of Timour were long sustained in the house of Baber, because that house, very cunningly, adapted itself to the circumstances, and needs of its people; but it had from the beginning been weakened by internal dissensions and viciousness, and it fell at the very first blow that struck it for England's power in the East. Rome had no stability in herself; and if she conquered the nations of Europe, it was because she was more highly civilised than the rest of Europe, and at such time as the conquered nations began to be enlightened the Roman power commenced to yield.

Rome had grown up to maturity while the surrounding states were but infantine in their organisation. Rome conquered by force of

her arms alone; and as the young nationalities of modern Europe grew up into man's estate, they learned to measure their own strength with hers, and snapped in due time their childish fetters as easily as Samson did the bonds of the Philistines. "Kingdoms have (thus) fallen after kingdoms, and provinces after provinces, with a rapidity which resembles the incidents of a romance rather than the accustomed train of political events"; but it is only to England, the patroness of improvement and the handmaid of every true amelioration, that India has been entrusted, doubtless, that she may be qualified by a long, if not a permanent dependency, to take her natural place in the community of nations. And by what means can so glorious a consummation be brought about but by imparting to the people the inestimable benefits of a sound enlightenment; And what time than the present is better adapted for Government to work with activity, and honest patriots to think with seriousness on the cause? All before the mutinies, the presence of powerful and ambitious chiefs and princes had forced our Government to keep up an attitude of perpetual warfare, and deep anxiety for the safety of their position; but they

have from time to time been all subdued and absorbed; while the few adventurous marauders that remained completed their destruction by precipitating the terrible rebellion of 1857. That too has been completely crushed; the last rebel just captured, and the temple of the Janus of Indian politics closed upon war. Nor were the finances ever in a healthier state than at present. The deficit, which had for so many years been eating into the vitals of the State, has been removed; a remission of taxation has taken place, and we now enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the addition of the munificent sum of half a million sterling to what was already devoted to the cause of mental and moral elevation. If, then, there ever was a conjuncture of circumstances pre-eminently favourable to the prosecution of national instruction, it is the present; and if it is trifled with, woe worth, we boldly say, the Government and their counsels! Another great obstacle has also been removed; and everything conspires, as it were providentially, to commence the regeneration of India. "I feel," says Lord Macaulay, in his minute, "that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people: we must at present do our

best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the people whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." These memorable words were written in 1835, and during the 27 years that have since elapsed, a change mighty in results has come over the bearing and the condition of circumstances. For, it may not be too much to say, that the two reasons that prevented Lord Macaulay from giving to the people of India the benefit of a system of national instruction, viz. the want of means and the want of a medium wherewith to communicate knowledge to the mass of the people, are now completely obviated. The educational means are at present so very liberal, that even the additional grant, sanctioned by the Home authorities only recently, is itself upwards of fourteen times the whole sum allowed in the days of Lord Macaulay, when he thought of a system of

national education for India. And as to the medium of communication, the class of men whom Lord Macaulay wanted to be the "interpreters" between the people of the East and the West—a class of men whose existence he held indispensable for raising the much-neglected mass of India, has been formed at each of the principal stations of India; a class, though "Indian in blood and colour," yet "English in taste, in opinion, and in intellect"; a class which has been "enriching the vernacular languages with terms borrowed from the western nomenclature," and so rendered them "fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." The difficulties are over, and the subject must be thought of seriously.

It would undoubtedly be ungrateful to deny all attempts in this direction by the British Government; yet we will not think lightly of that shrewd and observant, yet unjustly censured author of "*Modern India*," who believed that our people did not at all receive education either more extensively or of a superior nature under British domination than of old. It is his firm conviction, that India was celebrated in ancient times for the number and excellence of its schools. We can ourselves glean this

fact from the works of the Persian and Arabic historians of India; while Mr. Campbell personally came in contact with the mountain tribes, among whom the majority of people could read and write with ease and grace; and he conjectures that a century before the establishment of the British power, the many internecine wars that ruined the country during the disputes for thrones between ambitious and aspiring members of royal families, ruined the schools, and degenerated the people into that illiteracy and ignorance in which the British adventurers found them on their arrival in India. The British Government have been doing much, though not all that they should do, in reviving and invigorating the education of the people of this country; and we hope that a short history of this education will not be found uninteresting in this place.

The very day that the establishment of British power in the East was effected by the successes of Clive, the British Government directed their attention to imparting education to their eastern subjects; and so early as 1781, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, in spite of his narrow circumstances and mean emoluments, set apart from his own fortune a

sum, amounting to Rs. 57,745, for the establishment of the Calcutta College, to the maintenance of which his Government assigned a *jahageer* of the annual value of Rs. 29,000. Ten years afterwards, that is in 1791, under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, Jonathan Duncan, whom our Presidency had in a subsequent period the good fortune to claim as her Governor, opened a Sanskrit College at Benares. It must be admitted that the object in founding both these institutions was not to impart the blessings of a sound education and enlightenment to the degenerated people of the East, so much as to produce from among them a set of pedants, spouting Sanskrit and Arabic poets, and doctors of the Hindoo and Mahomedan law. Under the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley, in 1800, was opened the College of Fort William; but this college was not for the education of the people of this country, but for the instruction in oriental languages of English officers coming out from England. In the administration of the gentle and peace-loving Lord Minto, the attention of Government to education began to be directed, not as a voluntary feeling, but rather as an acknowledged duty; and under the advice of the

celebrated oriental scholar Colebrooke, institutions were founded for the study of Sanskrit in Tirhoot, Nundia, and other cities of Bengal. From this period we may mark the consummation of the first epoch of Indian education; though, unfortunately, at this time attention was directed to the exclusive study and revival of the Arabic and the Sanskrit, under the false and pretentious idea of raising the people in the scale of enlightenment by means of their old and effete literatures. It was something like the vain prudery of the dark ages of Europe, when men thought to elevate their nation by pedagogic feats and the exclusive cultivation of the Latin and Greek. Lord Minto, in whose time this oriental mania, commencing with Warren Hastings, reached its culmination, in a minute, dated 6th March 1811, laments that "science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the Natives of India"; ascribes the "prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports, both in the Mahomedans and the Hindoos, to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths"; and recommends the reform of the then existing, and the establishment of new,

Sanskrit and Arabic colleges. The Court of Directors entertained these views, and voted "that a sum not less than one *lakh* of rupees in each year should be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." The consequence of this was pernicious, because it gave an impetus to the exclusive cultivation of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages; awarded pensions and rewards to superannuated Pundits and Moulavis; and encouraged public disputations on subjects such as absorbed the attention of the school-men in the dark ages of Europe. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this scheme of education, devised by the wisdom of the Indian Government, and sanctioned by the authority of the Court of Directors, was not at all calculated to improve the character and condition of the benighted millions, inasmuch as it was necessarily confined, in the very nature of things, to a limited class of pedagogues and linguists. The Sanskrit and the Arabic flourished, no doubt, to the very height of their glory, just as the one did under

the patronising care of Sandracotus thousands of years ago, and the other under that of the enlightened Haroun Al Raschid four centuries back; but yet, it must be held a marvel how an enlightened statesman of the nineteenth century cherished the idea of regenerating an ignorant and enslaved nation by means of the exploded philosophy, abstruse science, and confused ethics (for it was positively confused and vitiated by the later *munis* and *fakirs*) of a bygone oriental age. Happily, this preposterous idea shortly received discountenance from an unexpected quarter, and in a curious way, to which we may justly ascribe the origin of all English instruction in India, and the beginning of the second and important epoch of Indian education. In 1815, under the Governor-Generalship of the Marquis of Hastings, the Indian philanthropist and benefactor, the Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Bengali, and English scholar, the well-known Rammohun Roy, who in a discussion on Biblical doctrines and claims had once outwitted the Indian head ecclesiastic of the English church, that scholar once held an evening convocation in his house of friends and visitors, among whom was an Englishman, poor in means, but rich in mind,

and expansive in heart, of the name of David Hare. Discussion was held as to the best means whereby the condition of the people might be ameliorated, and knowledge gained to them; but disputants even so earnest and acute as Rajah Rammohun Roy and David Hare could not arrive at a definite plan in a single evening; and it was determined to hold a public meeting every week to consider their laudable object. Mr. Hare, with great cleverness and vehemence, at length succeeded in convincing his hearers of the advisability of an English education for the Native population of Calcutta, by the establishment of a HINDOO COLLEGE. Rajah Rammohun Roy believed that a society would effect the desired change; and he forthwith established a Brahma community, believing in a Supreme Creator and cherishing a common faith; while at the same time, through the instrumentality of an inferior in mind, yet diligent, strong, and clever workman, the Hindoo College took its rise—and, if we speak yet more properly, the origin of English education in India. That workman, we need not repeat, was Mr. Hare, to whom one day is consecrated at Calcutta every year through grateful remembrance. And he, with

the assistance of the Chief Justice, Sir Hyde East, collected a subscription from the Native gentry and public, amounting to Rs. 1,13,179, for the founding of the present Hindoo College. The twentieth anniversary of this energetic and clear-minded Englishman has just been celebrated at Calcutta (on the 2nd of June last), when an intelligent Baboo delivered a short sketch of the history of the institution he was so instrumental in founding, which throws additional light on the philanthropy of Rammohun Roy as well as David Hare. He says—"Availing himself of this altered state of feeling, David Hare, a retired watchmaker, urged on the leading members of the Native community to consider the necessity and importance of establishing a great seat of learning in the metropolis. They listened to this proposal with unfeigned interest, and promised it their hearty support. They willingly accepted an invitation from Sir Edward Hyde East, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to meet at his residence for the purpose of adopting measures for carrying it into effect. The preliminary meeting was held in May 1816, in the same house (Old Post Office Street) which was lately occupied by Chief Justice Colville,

and which is now tenanted by Messrs. Allen, Judge, and Bannerjee, and a conclave of other lawyers. Among those who did not attend this preliminary meeting, was one who nevertheless shared with David Hare the credit of originating the idea of the institution of the Hindoo College, almost from its inception, and whose name will be therefore inseparably associated with its foundation. As a moral and religious reformer, Rammohun Roy had, from a very early period, felt the imperative necessity of imparting a superior English education to his countrymen as the best and most efficacious means of achieving his end. He had established an English School at his own expense. He had heartily entered into the plans of David Hare, and zealously aided in their development. But, as an uncompromising enemy of Hindoo idolatry, he had incurred the hostility of his orthodox countrymen, and he apprehended that his presence at the preliminary meeting might embarrass its deliberations, and probably defeat its object. And he was not mistaken. Some of the Native gentlemen, the representatives of Hindooism, actually told Sir Hyde East, that they would gladly accord their support to the proposed college, if Rammohun

Roy were not connected with it; but they would have nothing to do with that apostate! Rammohun Roy willingly allowed himself to be laid aside, lest his active co-operation should mar the accomplishment of the project, saying —'If my connection with the proposed college should injure its interests, I would resign all connection.' The arrangements for the establishment of the *Mahavidyalya*, or great seat of learning, as the Hindoo College was originally called, having been completed, it was inaugurated in 1816. The house on the Upper Chitpore Road, known as Gorrachand Bysack's house, and now occupied by the Oriental Seminary, was its first local habitation. It was afterwards removed to *Firinghi* Komul Bose's house at Jorasanko. The object of the institution, as described in the printed rules published in 1822, was to 'instruct the sons of the Hindoos in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences.' Though it was proposed to teach English, Persian, Sanskrit, and Bengali, yet the first place in importance was assigned to English. In truth, the college was founded for the purpose of supplying the growing demand for English education. Sanskrit was discontinued at an early period. The

Persian class was abolished in 1841. The only languages which have since been taught are English and Bengali."

After the founding of the college, in 1821, under the same administration, for the promotion of Sanskrit studies, the British Government subscribed the munificent sum of Rs. 1,20,000 for the building of the Hindoo Sanskrit College, and offered Rs. 30,000 annually for its maintenance; and in the subsequent year, that is in 1822, they subscribed Rs. 42,521 for building a college at Agra, and determined to pay annually the sum of Rs. 15,420 for its maintenance. From this date up to now, we have had colleges at Delhi, Patna, Allahabad, Bareilly, Saugor, Jubbulpore, Hooghly, Dacca, Kishnagur, and other places, a history of which it is of no very great importance or interest to relate here. In 1823, the Bengal Government, with a view to test the merit of their educational department, and ascertain the different ways in which their grants were expended, opened the "Committee of Public Instruction," which lasted for twenty years, until 1842, when Lord Auckland dissolved it, and established instead the late "Council of Education"; with the first of

which were connected at different times philanthropists and scholars like Princeps, H. Wilson, and Tytler, and with the second benefactors like the late lamented Bethune, and the yet living and working Charles H. Cameron. It must be here stated, that from among the different colleges we have just enumerated, some commenced with Arabic instruction, some with the Sanskrit, and some with the English; and others combined the three in their curriculum, which, it is probable, is nearly the same even at the present day. Nowhere in Bengal was attention ever paid to the dissemination of a general education in the vernacular dialect of the different sections of the community. On the 10th of October 1844, Lord Hardinge wrote his celebrated minute on the commencement of vernacular education in the different cities and villages of the country, a minute that has yet continued to be an authoritative despatch, that deserves the best attention of both Government and the public; and though a hundred vernacular schools were forthwith opened in different parts of India, they ultimately proved a failure; and it might, indeed, be said that this judicious minute has nowhere yet been carried out in its full integrity.

With regard to Bombay, the first move of any kind in the subject of education was made in 1816, when, through the exertions of Archdeacon Barnes, a school was opened at the present site of the Byculla Church, for the education of European orphans and paupers, and which school is yet in existence. In August 1820, the active members of the committee of this institution thought of the education of the Native people of our island; and in 1822, some of these, joined by their friends, formed the "Bombay Native School and School-book Society," and commenced the benevolent work of Native education in the Western Presidency. In 1824, under the administration of the late Honorable M. Elphinstone, Government determined to subscribe annually Rs. 6,000 to the funds of this society; and this was the first Government aid given to the work of Native education in Western India. In 1827, the above society changed its name to that of the "Bombay Native Education Society." It was in 1827 that that friend and benefactor of the Natives, the accomplished statesman and scholar, the late Honorable M. Elphinstone, retired from the administration of the Government of Bombay; and with a view to express their

veneration and esteem, and commemorate in gratitude his name and his services among their progeny, the Native gentry and public of Bombay subscribed, through the exertions of the immediate father of Western Indian education, Colonel Jervis, whose portrait is yet to be seen hung in a conspicuous place at the entrance of the Elphinstone school, and through the liberal co-operation of that enlightened Parsee, Mr. Framjee Cowasjee—whose portrait occupies the opposite side of the room which is graced by that of the English colonel,—a magnificent subscription, of upwards of Rs. 3,00,000, was forthwith raised, and employed, not in the presentation of a purse or plate, so often foolishly voted to retiring greatness or friendship from the scene of its active labours in this country, but in the founding of that venerable institution, which perpetuates the name of Elphinstone in the enlightenment of the sons of Western India, and the dissipation of its gloom and ignorance. Subsequently, in 1840, for the purposes of general direction and superintendence, was established the "Board of Education," in imitation of the "Committee of Public Instruction" (afterwards "Council of Education") in Bengal; and in the same

the school of the "Bombay Native Education Society," which was in the back-town of our city, and their college in the fort, were amalgamated into one institution, bearing the name of the "Elphinstone Native Education Society," which in 1845, at the suggestion, and under the auspices, as we conjecture, of Sir E. Perry, was changed into the present "Elphinstone Institution"; and in the same year, be it asserted to the credit and appreciation of his learning and talents, unfortunately always obscured by a too great assumption of modesty, Dr. John Harkness, from among the five professors then on a degree of equality, was unanimously elected Principal of the Institution.

Three years previous to attention being first directed to the education of the people of this city, the empire of Bajeerao was dismembered, and its reins assumed by the Bombay Government. In the fourth year of this event, that is in 1821, the Commissioner of the Deccan, Mr. Chaplin, established at the seat of this empire, Poona, a Sanskrit College, with the same object with which Warren Hastings was led to establishing at Calcutta the Mahomedan College, and Jonathan Duncan the Benares College. Mr. Chaplin, no doubt, worked in

an erroneous spirit; and he himself admitted, that in order to render his institution "agreeable to the Hindoo population," he "determined to employ Shastrees to teach all the subjects of instruction," many of which he fully acknowledged "to be worse than useless." Sanskrit education was thus commenced at Poona, as soon as it passed into the hands of the British Government; and it continued till 1834, when the Government of the Earl of Clare appointed a Committee of the Revenue and Judicial Commissioners of the Deccan, and the Poona Judge and Collector, to examine into the nature and working of this institution; who, reporting that, instead of enlightening, it tended to propagate false theories and superstitious views among the people, induced the Government to meritedly express a desire to abolish it. However, the exertions of Major Candy having made some improvement in the working of the institution, it was continued intact till 1851, when the suggestion, made in the celebrated minute of Sir E. Perry, "on the present state and future prospects of education in the Bombay Presidency," in October, 1849, was put into execution, by amalgamating this college with the Poona Government English School, and

founding the present Poona College, on the model of the Elphinstone Institution in Bombay, under the able management of Professors Green and McDougal, and Messrs. Keru and Madhavarao Shastree. At the very time that educational institutions were thus founded at Bombay and Poona, a school was opened at the insignificant town of Panvel, to impart English education, which, after a precarious existence of twenty-one years, died a natural death in 1842, at the mandate of the Board of Education. There was, about the same time with the founding of the school at Panvel, that is in the year 1823, opened an English School at Tanna, which, through various viscissitudes, is now in vigorous working; and about 1833 there was established a school at Poona, which produced very good scholars; and it must not be forgotten, that to a small degree the establishment of the Poona College owed its origin to the active exertions of the students of this school, which is now in amalgamation with the college. Subsequently to this, schools were opened at various places—at Surat (1842), Rutnagherry (1845), Ahmedabad (1846), Ahmednuggur and Dharwar (1847), Broach (1848), Belgaum (1850), Sattara (1852), and

Dhoolia (1853); and the work of opening new schools has since been considerably increased, especially under the active exertions of Mr. Howard, our Director of Public Instruction, as shall be seen hereafter. With regard to vernacular education in our Presidency, we must say it commenced in 1826, when, from the one Gujarati and one Marathi schools that were long before opened in connection with the Elphinstone Institution, fourteen Marathi *puntojis* and ten Gujarati *mehtajis* trained therein were selected and sent into the interior to each of the zillahs under the charge of the Collectors; and as the Revenue or Judicial Commissioners or Collectors recommended, Government showed a readiness to open schools for vernacular education of the people. In 1826, when the move in this direction was first made, these schools amounted to 24 in number; in 1840, when the "Board of Education" was nominated, they were 85; in 1850 they were 168; in 1854, when the present machinery of inspection was inaugurated, they were above 200 or 250; and in 1860, under Mr. Howard, the number of all kinds of schools in the Bombay Presidency amounted to 761. We may mention *en passant*, that for the education of the peasants in the

Poorundhur division of the Poona Collectorate were opened in 1836 about 60 schools; but the pay of the *puntoji* had long been ranging from the magnificent sum of Rs. 2-8as. to Rs. 5-8as., and that of the head master was Rs. 10; and we believe the same state of affairs yet continues to some extent in several of our village-schools even at the present day. We mention this fact, as it will be useful to bear it in mind while perusing the following pages.

But incomplete would be any history of Indian education, if we did not notice, of course as cursorily as before, the important differences which have at various times divided men of authority in their opinion on the topic of general enlightenment. The most disputable and stubborn question has always continued to be as to the medium whereby to impart education to the people of this country. Various views have been advanced, at various times; but these may be reduced principally to three heads—1*st*, the advocacy of the different languages and dialects of the different provinces as the medium of education; 2*nd*, the advocacy of the Sanskrit studies for the Hindoo, and of the Arabic for the Mahomedan population of India; and 3*rd*, the advocacy of English education

for the people. It is curious, and at the same time despairing, for any preference on our part to enumerate the great names arrayed on each side—Malcolm, Munro, Macnaughten, Clerk, Thomason, Hodgson, Sprenger, Wilkinson, Marshman, Willoughby, and Jervis were the advocates of the first opinion; and Warren Hastings, Jones, Colebrooke, Princeps, Shakspeare, Tytler, H. Wilson, and Cunningham, of the second; while Bentinck, Auckland, Macaulay, Trevelyan, Ryan, Cameron, Bethune, Duff, Elphinstone, Frank, Warden, Grant, Norton, Rammohun Roy, and last, though not the least, David Hare, disputed for the third. At first sight, the advocates of the first view seem to take the palm of justice and clear-sightedness off the dispute; for where there is no enlightenment, where the people do not know to read and write with grace and ease, and where science and art have not shed any ray of their lustre, it is expedient to impart education in the vernacular of the country. But in India this is most impracticable. There is a language for every province, and a dialect for every zillah; which. when aggregated, would give an overwhelming number for the national languages of India. Sir E. Perry, in his "Languages of India, and

the function of the English as a Lingua Franca," enumerates twenty-one distinct languages in India, each of which has its distinct dialects, often unintelligible to two sections of the people in one district; and Sir E. Perry himself enumerates eight distinct branches of the Hindi, a knowledge of the one of which does not at all make the other intelligible. It is true that all enlightenment and reformation have been effected through the national language of the people; it was with this that Luther worked in Germany, Wickliffe in England, St. Patrick in Ireland, John Knox in Scotland, and even Sankracharya in India; but of the innumerable languages and dialects of the people of India at the present time, which is to be preferred? is the knotty question, that completely upsets the first view. Besides, each of these languages is imperfect in its nomenclature, and loose in its structure; there are no standard indigenous works in any one of these; and if all were to be equally favoured, the first step would be to create a literature in them all, which is evidently a long and even then hopeless task. The second view received the greatest countenance of Government from 1781 till 1835; and it is wonderful how effete litera-

tures found so much favour from men in authority. It must undoubtedly be admitted, that Sanskrit is the most perfect, rich, and ancient language of any in the world; and though we do not know much of it, we can safely give to it superiority over the Greek and Latin in every respect: but we believe that in the olden times it should have been the fittest vehicle of enlightenment. Perhaps its advocacy might have been appropriate also in the middle ages; but in the days of railways, the steam-engine, and telegraph, of experimental and metaphysical philosophy, the days of Newton, Faraday, Arago, Compte, Locke, Cousin, Adam Smith, Mill, and Whewell, to believe that the Sanskrit, and, we may also add, the Arabic literature, could inculcate doctrines of a genuine science and unerring philosophy, would be a sheer absurdity. In fact, at no period of the world's past history did there exist the science, imparting comfort and power over nature to man: it is essentially of modern growth; and that education which does not elevate the moral and material position of a people is worse than useless. Rajah Rammohun Roy, than whom, we believe, a more shrewd, clear-sighted, and benevolent Native India never produced, at

first differed from the clear view of Mr. David Hare; and in spite of the latter's advocacy for the founding of a *Hindoo College* for English education, darted upon his *Brahmo-Sumaj* as the best means of ameliorating the condition of his countrymen, in 1815. But time worked a change in the mind and opinions of the earnest philanthropist, and he so clearly perceived the futility of his plan, and the superior claims of the English to all Sanskrit lore, that in December 1823 he made a petition to the Government of Lord Amherst to abolish the then Sanskrit College, which he compared with the useless colleges that were founded and maintained in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon; and openly asserted that its instruction, instead of benefiting the mind of the student, rather burdened it with oppressive rules of grammar, and old venerated theories of nature, now wholly exploded. He said that the Sanskrit was the most difficult language for acquisition; that it would take a lifetime before attaining to the science under its veil, which, after all the exertion to acquire, in no way rewarded the zealous votary. Indeed, Mr. Adam, who was at first a missionary, but, changing his mind, and joining a Socinian community, left

his avocation of the Gospel, and became the first editor in India, and who was commissioned by Lord Wm. Bentinck, in 1835, to examine and report upon the state of Government education in Bengal and Behar, has calculated that a studentship of eighty years is necessary for a complete curriculum of Sanskrit studies, and, under favourable circumstances, of not less than twenty or twenty-five years! Rammohun Roy, in his celebrated petition, stated that he believed it would take ages before enlightenment could be diffused in the country through the Sanskrit, and ages again before the people could be persuaded to have a taste for its study; and, indeed, Mr. Adam, on inquiry, found that while there were 109 schools in Bengal for Sanskrit education, the total number of boys amounted to 1,358 only, with the monthly expense of Rs. 3,119, or over Rs. 37,000 annually, with a further expenditure of Rs. 20,000 every year on the publication of Sanskrit (and Arabic) works. Rammohun Roy further believed, that had England desired to keep her sons in ignorance and unenlightenment, she would have perpetuated the philosophy of the schoolmen, and forbad that of Bacon, in her universities

and colleges; and if she intended to keep her Indian subjects depressed and illiterate, she could not do it more successfully than by imparting and tolerating yet further the present Sanskrit education. The rival claims of the Sanskrit and the English thus continued to be discussed in no measured language, and even with bitter personal acrimony, between the opposing advocates; and on the 2nd of February 1835, Lord (then the Honorable) Macaulay, the Fourth Member of Council, made the most lucid, argumentative, and eloquent minute, worthy, in one word, of the first writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, on education for India (re-copied with permission into the Honorable Mr. Cameron's work on the "*Duties of England to India*"), in which he advocated the claims on the English for the enlightenment of this country, and expressed himself so forcibly and stubbornly that he threatened to resign his office, should his views be discarded. Happily, however, they found an echo in the liberal views of Lord Wm. Bentinck, with whom commences the era of English education in India; which measure owes no small share of its origin also to the enlightened interest of the Marquis of Hastings. That illustrious Governor-General, Lord

Wm. Bentinck, than whom an abler, a more liberal-minded and philanthropic ruler (save perhaps the late Lord Canning) never wielded the sceptre of Indian viceroyalty, the uncompromising reformer of every branch of the administration, the abolisher of the inhuman rite of *sati*, and the exterminator of debasing *thuggism*, in his resolution dated 7th March 1835, founded on the celebrated minute of Lord Macaulay, discouraged the exclusive cultivation of the Sanskrit and Arabic literatures, opened patronage to English learning, and thus commenced a new era in Indian education. From that memorable year, the stream of Government liberality was chiefly, we might say wholly, directed to the cultivation of English literature and science among the Natives, and the erection in various parts of the country of colleges and high schools. But Government did not work alone in this field of real usefulness. Individual philanthropists, both missionary and civilian, like Messrs. Edwards, Hume, and Thomason, put forth individual efforts, vieing with the Government colleges in imparting a sound instruction in literature, science, morals, and, in addition, religion.

The dispute that raged so fiercely in Bengal

was not without a shadow of its reflection in our own island; where, however, it partook more of the nature of a difference of the *degree* of encouragement to be afforded by Government than in the *medium* of education. Some advocated that a greater amount of aid should be afforded to education in the vernacular than that in the English, while others reversed the view. This dispute raged very fiercely twice in our island: on the first occasion, it was between the Honorable F. Warden and Sir John Malcolm, of which there came no satisfactory settlement; for the one was supported in his advocacy with the results achieved in Bengal, where seventy per cent. of school-boys were found about the year 1844 to receive English education (*i. e.* 3,953 out of 5,570), while in Bombay only seven per cent. (*i. e.* 761 out of 10,616), which greatly supported the attitude assumed by the Bombay Governor. On the second occasion, this dispute arose, not between the Bombay Governor and a member of the Board of Education, but between Sir E. Perry and Colonel Jervis, both members of the board. The incident was this, that on the 30th of January 1847, Government addressed a letter to the board about the estab-

lishment of an Engineering School in connection with the Elphinstone Institution, when Colonel Jervis objected to the Government suggestion of imparting this instruction in the English language, while Sir E. Perry strenuously supported it. This dispute was continued till 1850, and was waged with such stubbornness and acrimony on both sides, that the Government of the Honorable J. P. Willoughby at length, in a letter on the 24th of April in the lastnamed year, passed a censure upon it, and authoritatively ordered it to be closed.

Such is the short history of Indian education in Bengal and in Bombay, until the period we advisedly call the beginning of the second and more interesting epoch of our enlightenment. The third epoch in this history commences with the 19th of July 1854, when, thanks to Mr. Edwards, Mr. Marshman, and Dr. Duff, Mr. Baring wrote the famous despatch signed by Sir Charles Wood, which furthered the cause of Indian education, by calling into existence an effective educational machinery of directors and inspectors to watch over its progress and its failings; the institution of universities; the system of grants-in-aid; and the ultimate withdrawal of the State

from all direct control over individual schools. But a false economy, and the narrow views of those (and especially of Mr. P. Grant, who influenced both Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning in education movements) who were charged with giving effect to the measures advocated in the memorable despatch, prevented the realisation of these much-to-be-coveted consummations. The system of grants-in-aid has been almost a failure everywhere, but especially in Bombay, where it has been strenuously opposed by all the authorities; and the only great result as yet arrived at in this country has been the establishment of universities in the three Presidencies. But that famous document provided for something more —it positively contemplated a system of national education. In 1859, Lord Stanley reviewed its results; and finding that its original object had been entirely overlooked, directed Lord Canning to give his attention to it; when, with praiseworthy alacrity, the late lamented Governor-General invited the opinions of all practical teachers, as well as of men interested in education, declaring that he would at once create and vigorously work a scheme of national schools. Replies were sent in to Mr.

J. P. Grant three years ago, and he forwarded them to the Governor-General twenty-two months ago—to no purpose, as it proved afterwards, whatsoever. Unfortunately for the dumb millions of India, Lord Stanley's ministry was at an end; Lord Canning's new-born zeal, having no food to keep it active, evaporated, and this subject, like all Indian subjects, is still "under consideration"; and while exaltation has been made of the great and the rich —the princes, the chiefs, and the ameers,— by a policy of liberal instinct, the poor, the weak, and the helpless are yet left by Government to the lowest degradation, unheeding the cry that rings throughout the country—"My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge"! There are three classes in every country—the rich, the middle, and the poor; and whatever of movement in education or reform, made in any country, has been either with the first or the last to produce any very beneficial effects? The middle class is generally without influence, unless it be unusually active, energetic, and philanthropic; without certainly the influence which riches and power enjoy of setting the example which the mass is too ready to copy, and without the influence of the last, which is

as great, as that of the beginning being made where it should be made. In commencing with the middle class in the work of the diffusion of western civilisation, Government have obtained the result of a few well-trained pupils, and a great majority of half educated, vain striplings. Had they commenced with the upper class, the formation of universities should have been hastened twenty years earlier, and we should by this time have had a rich crop of well-grounded students, pursuing literature and study all their life through, and, being able in means, successfully engaged in the work of enlightening the mass of the people. Our comprehension of knowledge must also have been greater; for it is only the rich who can afford to stay out the entire curriculum of study in any country, and, after entering on life, to further their progress, until it should even be said of many that

"Knowledge self destroyed her favourite son."

It is impossible to overrate the importance of general education, which precedes special education in the very order of time, and holds it as a mere secondary part, inasmuch as the object of the former is two-fold; first to store the mind with substantive knowledge, and

secondly to fit it as an instrument for dealing with all subjects which may be placed before it at any time, however vast or minute. It has often been likened to the elephant's trunk, which, while it can tear away the full-grown tree, is yet of such fine adaptation that it can pick up the minute pin. This is accomplished by inculcating habits of order, study, and reflection; the last of which is most beneficial to the mind, and even as indispensable to the general object of study as mastication is to digestion, by improving the memory, strengthening the judgment, and exercising the reasoning powers; and he who most thoroughly accomplishes these ends, which assuredly constitute the general education of any individual, will find his special training the shortest and easiest, and is most likely to succeed, not only in his particular calling, but in whatever object he places before himself for accomplishment. The conviction sinks deeper into our mind every day, that all life is one long school-time, and that education ceases only with the grave, however remote the prospect, and however unwilling any drone is to enter into study; with this difference only, that *in youth we are taught; in manhood we teach ourselves.* A real student takes general

education all his life, while an ignorant or half-literate stripling pursues his special education; but every man, high or low, noble or grovelling, receives some education or other up to the moment when he sinks into his grave. What we call experience in worldly phraseology is nothing but special education, and we see in the progress made in experience by the professional plodder, the steady but imperceptible progress in special education—the shroff or the *banya* in his expertness of shop chicaneries, the *karkoon* in his art of collection, the *kazee* in drawing in thickly the veil of ignorance, and the *dewan* or the *kotwal* in his watchfulness;—every professional man receives a special education, in every little concern of business he transacts, not the less steadily and progressively than the student does his general instruction, by reading and discoursing, because unconscious and unperceived.

If this view be right, as we have no doubt it is, then it is evident that in India there is no general education in its strict sense; for as yet education has been confined to that class of the population which either forces or induces the majority of boys to leave the school or college

so soon as they have had such a smattering of English reading, writing, and arithmetic as enables them to obtain employment as writers or accountants; indeed, it is not likely that they would prefer what would seem to them a present evil for a future good; and even if they wished, the calls of the family upon the labour of all its hands are too urgent to allow of a gratification of their desire. The Indian Government so shamefully neglects all statistics that we do not know even our own numbers; little, therefore, can we venture to calculate exactly the proportion which the boys who go up to a completion of their studies bear to those who are either satisfied with or compelled to be content with a mere smattering of learning. But being a little in the habit of keeping a diary, we will transcribe here a few *vague* results arrived at by ourselves. Of 168 boys admitted with us into the English department, ten entered the Elphinstone College, of whom one has just finished its entire curriculum, and two are still with their studies; two joined the Grant Medical College, and have come out as graduates, and one is prosecuting his studies for the civil service in England: thus making the magnifi-

cent number of thirteen out of 168! Of 143 boys of the batch in the following half-year, nine have entered the Elphinstone and one the Grant Medical Colleges, and they are yet prosecuting their respective studies; and of 156 boys admitted immediately before the first noticed batch, only six entered the college; but none stayed out its entire course, and in each of these three batches barely one-fourth the number remained to finish the education of the lower school of the Elphinstone Institution*! These are the results in Bombay, where people are so well-to-do and enlightened; but the case in the mofussil is most disheartening, as out of about two hundred schools and upwards dispersed over the country, it is only some years that we get two, three, or four boys at the most into our college. From these imperfect, because private, statistics, we come to calculate the proportion of boys, who go up to a completion of their higher course, to those who fall off only with a smattering, to be barely eight per cent.; and if

* Of the class of 28 boys trained by the writer of these pages during the past year or year and a half in his late position as the head master of a seminary, only three joined the college, the rest having all entered the world as professional young men; so great is the decadence of boys from a class.

allowance is to be made for the perfect apathy shown in the Native *purgunnahs*, and even cities, in the interior of the country, we will scarcely be wrong if we take two per cent. as the *general* estimate in this case for our Presidency. We are not in possession of estimates for the other Presidencies; but perhaps the case is not very much improved anywhere; so that, in one sense, the Government have begun their education with such a class as are occupied in receiving merely a special education for their profession. Void of means, they are unable to prove very beneficial instruments of reform to the lower orders of the people; and as for their own progress, we have again the mournful question to inquire—have we a single man of talent or genius to compare with any one of the commonest or lowest individuals who have raised the British intellect to its present proud position in the van of all that is ennobling? Had Government begun with the upper and richer classes in their scheme of implanting European civilisation and polish on the soil of this country, the extravagant expenses incurred in giving the higher education could have been spared, and after making the beginning they could easily have demanded

self-supporting institutions from our countrymen, if they desired to induct themselves into the higher branches of literature and science. We should have had by this time a rich crop of well-grounded students, devoted to learning and literary investigations in after life; while the heavy expenses, unnecessarily and without any very beneficial results, spent in educating indolent and worldly-minded boys, could have been diverted to elevating the lower mass of the people by grounding them in rudimentary knowledge and moral inculcations, so necessary for the well-being both of the people and the Government themselves. In England the higher education is to be had only after an expense of eight or ten thousand rupees for each boy, while the rudimentary national education is given for nothing in every village and street; and there can be no reason why it is not so in India. There can be no greater delusion than that of excusing this anomalous procedure on the score of the different circumstances of the two countries, inasmuch as the experiment has never been tried. Perhaps there was the difficulty of class pride and reserve, so common with eastern nations, to contend with; but by keeping the colleges

and higher seminaries self-supporting, Government should have pandered to their prejudices, as only the boys of their class could have been enabled to join, and no other; and the readiness with which the shares of the "Proprietary School" have all been filled up in our town satisfactorily shows that the richer classes of the Indian community are very anxious to obtain the blessings of a liberal education when their pride is enlisted in its favour. It was because their sons had to mingle very indiscriminately with the young boys of the other orders that this class kept themselves aloof from benefiting themselves by the higher branches of education opened so liberally, yet in such a mistaken spirit, by the Government of India. Even now, the Presidency College at Calcutta is more than half attended by the boys of the richer class of the Baboos. Why then bribe them with so many scholarships and free-studentships—why not make the college at once self-supporting, except in the pay of the Principal, who should always be a Government servant, and divert the enormous expenses of unnecessarily supporting it to the formation of national schools in all the villages of India? It is to be re-

gretted that Mr. Howard's reports, so sagacious and suggestive in all respects, should lack statistics such as we wanted, and quoted from our diary above; but yet they give us plain figures on many points of vital importance; and the following well turned investigation shows how easy it will be to render all higher education self-supporting, in order, of course, to make room for the rudimentary education of the dumb millions of India. In his report on the education of the Bombay Presidency for 1859-60, Mr. Howard begs "pointedly to call the particular attention of Government to the comparatively large sums contributed by the people of this Presidency to their education. The total money-payments for the maintenance of schools in 1859-60 were approximately Rs. 5,52,564. Of this, the people contributed (including school-fees) Rs. 1,80,023, besides Rs. 35,533 spent in the purchase of school-books. (To this total, Rs. 2,15,556 must be added, the sums laid out by the people in the building of school-houses, &c., of which I cannot state the amount.) As Government levies no educational tax under any form, and does not recognise official compulsion of any kind, the sums in question must be taken as paid

voluntarily, and as showing, beyond cavil, how strongly Government education has taken root among the people. If I am not deceived, these figures may be compared favourably with those of any other part of India. A statement of fees collected during the last four years will show (and far more satisfactorily, to my mind, than school attendance returns) the steady increase of the value put upon Government education by the people."

And yet Government have produced, after a long experiment (yet wrongheadedly persisted in), only a few well-trained college boys! Yes, with regard to India, in an intellectual point of view, we have only a few lights; and true, true to the very figure, is her state, when we quote—

> "Yet from those flames
> No light; but rather darkness visible
> Serves only to discover sights of woe,
> Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
> And rest can never dwell";—

for what "peace and rest" can we have without a recognition of intellectual and moral worth? Of the body of the people, it may be truly said that they are perishing for lack of knowledge. Owing to the want of statistics, it is difficult to ascertain the proportion which reading men bear to

the entire population. But in this matter we are not left in absolute ignorance with regard to Bengal, though we are for every other part of India. Mr. Adam, who, as before stated, was commissioned by Lord William Bentinck to inquire into the state of education in Bengal, has left to us some figures that may be here used to serve our end in forming an estimate of the extent of the indigenous education. He entered into the examination of six thanahs of six districts of Bengal, reckoning the total number of adults, the total number of children between the ages of five and fifteen, the number of instructed adults, and the number of instructed children. He completed his returns in 1838, in which year the public had for the first (and unfortunately also the last) time any ascertained estimate of the extent of education in any part of India. And as no attempt on a praiseworthy scale has since been made to extend vernacular instruction, we may safely take the diffusion of education at present to be the same as it was in 1838. From Mr. Adam's report it appears, that out of every 100 adults only 55 received any sort of education whatever, and that out of 100 children of school-going age, 7·75 received some instruction, while 92·25

received none at all. Removing the decimals in the last estimate, it appears that one child receives instruction out of every 120 inhabitants. While in England one child is instructed out of every 14 inhabitants, in Belgium and France out of 10, in Scotland and Holland out of 8, in Norway and Denmark out of 7, in Prussia out of 6, and in some of the cantons of Switzerland out of 4, in Bengal, the seat of the Indian Government, and even that of the greatest exertion of individual philanthropy of the whole peninsula of India, 1 child is instructed out of every 120 inhabitants! And then, what is the nature of this education, and who are the teachers that impart this instruction? The first is only contemptible to the last degree, and the second the lowest outcasts from human dignity.

The reader will notice that the statistics we have just given are of the vernacular education imparted by what are called *gurumahasyas* in Eastern India, and *puntojis* and *mehtajis* in the Western; for the first of whom Mr. Adam, from whom we borrow our numbers, calculated the sum of Rs. 2-7-10 to be the average income; and of the second the same story has been told to the writer for nine different vil-

lages, every pupil paying between 6 and 9 pies, making at the end of the month a magnificent income ranging between 3 and 4 rupees; every *bihistee*, *hurkara*, and even a *pariah*, working by manual labour, realising twice, or thrice, or four times this sum. And, as our educational statistician has remarked for his *gurumahasyas* in Eastern India, that income too is realised, not in coin, but frequently in *bajree*, *ghee*, *dal*, and *rice!* Indeed, in these circumstances, it will be perceived that a vernacular school-mastership in villages, and we have reason to say even in cities also, is the last resource of Indian humanity, betaken to only when every attempt at any other livelihood has sadly failed. Without any education whatever, ignorant even of the first elements of knowledge, never having even once in their lives known the happiness of original thought or reflection on anything about them, and possessed only of a passable penmanship (though without correct orthography) and some of the rules of arithmetic, it is the height of folly to expect that any education is imparted to the children by schoolmasters—for they themselves have received no education at all; and it is the instruction imparted by these teachers that we take into

consideration when we calculate that in Bengal, the best circumstanced of all parts of India, 1 child is instructed out of every 120 inhabitants!

Owing to our limited age, influence, and means, we have several sources of information closed upon us; but still, with the disadvantages inherent in our position, we can very safely arrive at a satisfactory conclusion on the requirements of India. The scheme of education in our Western Presidency, so far as dissemination is concerned, has rapidly been furthered under the present *regime*, and we find Government minuting in 1859-60 a very high degree of satisfaction:—

"*Progress of Education.*—In paragraphs 16 to 23, Mr. Howard submits a general summary of the progress of education, showing that the number of schools has increased from 211 in 1855 to 761 in 1860, and the number of pupils from 23,681 to 44,166. This result must be regarded as most gratifying; and its favourable character is enhanced by the fact alluded to in the 21st and 22nd paragraphs, of the considerable sum contributed by the people of the Presidency (Rs. 2,15,556) to the educational fund. The Honorable the Governor in

Council has also not failed to notice the testimony borne by Mr. Howard in the 23rd paragraph to the general improvement in many educational details besides attendance statistics."

We have been kindly favoured by an educational authority with the statistics of our Presidency for the year 1862, showing the progress made since the above minute:—

Return of Pupils in Government Schools and Colleges, Bombay and Sind.— Area 120,065 square miles.

1861-62.	British Territory.		Political Districts.		Grand Total.	
	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.
Colleges, Law and Engineering Schools..	6	313	..	....	6	313
Central Division ..	270	16,803	8	159	278	16,962
North Division ..	163	13,251	85	5,326	248	18,762
South Division ..	201	12,861	4	269	205	13,125
Sind Division ..	80	2,690	..	....	80	2,690
Total....	720	45,918	97	5,934	817	51,852

The latest Madras Reports give us the following returns:—

Madras Presidency, April 1862.—Area 145,000 square miles.

	Schools.	Pupils.
Government Colleges and Schools	143	8,973
Schools supported by a rate but managed by Govt. ..	99	1,705
Private aided Schools	461	17,763
Private Schools, inspected	40	759
Total.....	743	29,194

The latest Bengal Reports (a year behind Bombay and Madras) afford the following statistics:—

Bengal Presidency, April 1861.—Area 225,193 square miles.

	Schools.		Pupils.	
Government.				
Colleges	9		1,295	
English Schools	45		7,245	
Anglo-Vernacular	7		381	
Vernacular	179		9,950	
		240		18,871
Aided, &c.				
English	33		4,748	
Anglo-Vernacular	99		7,473	
Vernacular	266		11,496	
Girls' Schools	16		395	
		414		24,112
Indigenous	172	172	7,731	7,731
Grand Total		826		50,714

We are thus, no doubt, far ahead of Bengal, Madras, or Agra, area for area; but yet, ought we at all to be satisfied, so far as our requirements are concerned? To satisfactorily solve this query we will again take our statistics, as

they lie before us in a memorandum in our diary in the time before the mutinies. We have not had any official statistics since the mutinies before the public; and even had these been available, we should in honesty reject them, and take into consideration only the times before the mutinies, as everything was then in a fixed and settled order, and free from the disorganisation into which 1857 threw every element of government. We know that British India, for the purposes of revenue and administration, has been divided into four Presidencies, and the provinces under the Supreme Government; and we have before us numbers for the area in square miles, population, revenue, and districts under the jurisdiction of each, at the *lowest* possible calculation. Surely, an area of 680,000 square miles, and a population of only 100 millions, that we assume for the whole of British India, are the *least* that any one can assume; and these low numbers we distribute, after careful inquiry, as follows:—

Divisions.	Districts.	Area of Jurisdiction.	Population.	Revenue.	Average of Inhabitants on each Sq. Mile.
		Square Miles.		Rupees.	
Supreme Government.	30	100,547	10,143,399	18,03,213	100
Bengal Presidency . .	50	225,193	41,093,350	35,06,070	187
Agra Presidency . .	35	86,540	23,800,549	41,22,566	275
Madras Presidency . .	20	145,000	16,339,426	34,89,537	113
Bombay Presidency . .	17	120,065	10,500,000	22,90,969	87

To a thoughtful reader, this table, the lowest, we repeat, in every estimate, will open a thousand reflections and suggestions; but we will concern ourselves with the educational requirements only of each division, with a view to put them in comparison with the countries of Europe, considering that the resources of both India and England outweigh into insignificance the resources of every other European country. By the latest statistics, we learn that in France there is one primary school for every 500 inhabitants, in Prussia for 600, and in Saxony for 900. Surely none will deny that India requires to be brought on a level with these states, blessed as they are with but scant resources; but we will make some allowance, and ask for one primary school for twice the second number, viz. for every 1,200 inhabitants. We will then require 8,452 primary schools at the least in the different provinces under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Government of India; 34,245 for the Bengal, 19,834 for the Agra, 13,616 for the Madras, and 8,666 for the Bombay Presidencies. These are the lowest figures; and yet the Bombay Government are satisfied with merely 761 schools under their jurisdiction, and these by no means higher than those

wretched styes and kennels in several districts, and conducted by teachers who are seldom paid more than Rs. 10 or 15 a month. In asking for primary schools, we ask them exactly on the European model—instructing boys either in the vernacular or the English, we care not which, though we should prefer the last to the different wretched gibberishes that have no sound and healthy literature in them, and inculcating from early life habits of thought, reflection, and reading, as well as moral principles and practice. We do not want good grounding so much as the inculcation of good habits and taste; and so long as Government will not establish boarding and lodging with their schools—even primary ones,—they will, as they yet have, produce mere foppish trimmers, without achieving aught else of success.

But these schools must be conducted by a sufficient number of teachers. In France there is one teacher for every 400 inhabitants, in Switzerland for 450, in Prussia for 510; and making allowances again for India, we ask for one teacher for every 1,000 inhabitants. At this rate, we should have 10,143 teachers for the provinces under the Supreme Government; 41,093 for the Bengal, 23,800 for the Agra,

16,339 for the Madras, and 10,500 for the Bombay Presidencies. But these teachers should be men of cultivated minds—men of the first order; for it is evident that he who has not himself been accustomed to habits of thought, reflection, and reading, cannot be expected to inculcate those habits in young boys. Let each school have one instead of two teachers; but he must be drawn from the students of the first order, one of extensive learning, deep thought, and fine habits, and well instructed in the theory and practice of teaching. It is no use employing school-boys, and students from the last forms of colleges, in the instruction and management of classes, however rudimentary; for the higher the intelligence and learning of the teacher, the better adapted is he to instruct his class. And yet, how many could be pointed out, even from our highest English seminaries, that do not at all answer the description of the lowest grade of teachers in England or on the Continent!

A student may be very learned and talented; but if he is not initiated in the art of teaching, he makes an indifferent teacher; and hence we require Normal Seminaries for supplying efficient teachers. There are at present two Nor-

mal Schools in this Presidency, and 4 in the Bengal; "but what are they among so many?" In Prussia, there is 1 Normal College for every 370,000 inhabitants, in France for 350,000, and in Switzerland for 170,000; and making allowances as before, it is not too much if we ask for 1 Normal College (not a mere school, as indifferently constituted at present) for every 600,000 inhabitants. We shall at this rate require 20 Normal Colleges for the provinces under the Supreme Government; 70 for the Bengal, 40 for the Agra, 30 for the Madras, and 20 for the Bombay Presidencies.

But we want superintendence over our schools, to regulate the course of instruction, and continue the zeal of the teachers, as well as to watch over their activity. In France, there are 249 inspectors; in Holland, far less in extent than France, with a population of barely one million, 100; and in Bavaria 293, or 300 inspectors, in round numbers, where there is a population of four millions. In regard to inspection, we cannot make any allowance, as the element of religious superintendence is wholly wanting in the circumstances of this country. In England, the vicar of the parish exercises superintendence of the most zealous and volun-

tary kind, and in Prussia, and throughout even Protestant Germany, both before and after the proclamation and ratification in 1850 of the present *Verfausung*, in addition to the School Councillor, or, as he is called, *Schulrath* by the Germans, the pastor of the parish is, as he has always been, the *ex officio* local inspector of elementary schools, whether chief or affiliated, within his parish. We should, on this consideration, have our inspectorial staff stronger and more efficient than anywhere in Europe; but still, asking for it only in the proportion of Bavaria, which is the mean between that of Holland and France, we should have 750 inspectors for provinces under the Supreme Government, 3,100 for the Bengal, 1,800 for the Agra, 1,200 for the Madras, and 750 for the Bombay Presidencies. We are, however, on this side of India content with only 4, and there are reasons to suppose that circumstances are not at all better in the other divisions of India.

The educational requirements of India, then, on the lowest calculation, are—

Divisions.	Schools.	Masters.	Normal Colleges.	Inspectors.
Supreme Government ..	18,452	10,143	20	750
Bengal Presidency	34,245	41,093	70	3,100
Agra Presidency	19,834	19,834	40	1,800
Madras Presidency	13,616	13,616	30	1,200
Bombay Presidency ..	8,666	8,666	20	750
Total..	84,813	93,352	180	7,600

But our effort would be incomplete without a further step in the regeneration of India. In a country where the people are so utterly wretched, children will be taught to labour for their livelihood rather than spend a few years in primary schools; for the actual condition of the mass of the people is not now one whit better than it was, as described by very able men, several years back. Mr. T. Grant, in the last century, wrote of the Hindoo millions: "A seer of rice with a little seasoning, a rag, a hut or the canopy of heaven, (the whole brought within the daily expenditure of an anna, or two-pence for each individual,) satisfy all the natural wants of an Hindostany husbandman or manufacturer; and if he can save at the end of the year a couple of rupees from the produce of his industry, rated at one hundred in the market, he is infinitely richer, more contented, and easy in his circumstances, than the individual following either of these trades in England, who, after incurring a personal expenditure of two shillings a day, should be able to lay by an annual profit of two guineas from his whole estimated work of one hundred." And this description our author repeated in his later work on the finances of the coun-

try. ("*Review of Financial State*," &c. p. 49.) Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, in his reply to a question put to him by Parliament, said—"The poor of India, who are the people, have no* wants; unless the scanty rags which they wear, their huts, and simple food, may be considered as such, and these they have upon the ground which they tread upon." The case of a poor mofussilite was brought to our notice only four months past, who solemnly declared that he had not seen the form of a rupee for thirty years; and between his introduction to us and the beginning of the last year an inquiring brother had accidentally met, on

* One might think that, with these gentlemen, to want nothing and to want everything were synonymous expressions. There is a great misapprehension among Englishmen as to the actual wants of the people of India. We have come in actual contact with three or four batches of poor ryots and labourers from different districts, who, on their first arrival in Bombay, were astonished to observe its wealth and magnificence, and coveted every article of our dress and furniture. They ascribed their poverty to the British yoke, we know not how, and blessed their Mahomedan and Hindoo sovereigns, in whose time they believed the tillers of the soil were as rich as any class in the city. The popular notion seemed to be, that all Englishmen were attacked by ague and irremediable maladies on account of the curses of the Natives; and it was owing to this that they all went to England in the course of a few years, lest the curses heap on them to their (the Englishmen's) ruin by a longer stay!

a tour into the interior, with two ryots, one of whom assured him that he had not had a single silver coin since the death of his father ten years back; the other, a young man of about twenty or twenty-two years of age, begged to be allowed the sight of a silver coin, as he had not seen one in his life! This state, no doubt, is highly dangerous, and calls for an immediate remedy; but as it is, the aim of our Government in opening the requisite number of schools in the different parts of the country will be most wretchedly defeated. What then should we do? Why, introduce at once, directly, the Prussian system of popular education. We believe, and so does every honest individual, that England is far too much behind, with respect to the popular education of her millions, in comparison with France, Germany, and Prussia; and it is a grand mistake that Englishmen should constitutionally be disinclined to adopt anything from foreign countries. Rightly understood and used, the experience of other countries may be made our own; with this advantage, again, that we are in the position of reaping its fruits without its experiment —*felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* In many branches of her legislation, England

has shown herself ready to learn all she can from the institutions of other countries; and with a view to be convinced of this, one needs only to study, or even superficially examine, her management of the poor, the treatment of criminals, the transference of real property, &c.; so that we see no reason why she should overlook the German or Prussian system of popular instruction, at least in the case of her Indian population, who are far inferior to these European nations in every particular of taste and habit. One preliminary objection always sets aside all reference to Prussian schools; for it is said that Prusia is a bureaucratic country, and its system of primary instruction has been forced upon the nation by Government; so that if the system of Prussian education is set up for a model, the writer is immediately proscribed for designing to introduce centralisation, official despotism, conscription, and all that. It would be impossible to trace the whole system of Prussian instruction, to see its advantages, to separate its evils (for it has evils also), and lastly, to expose fully how far unsound is the objection raised, in the short space that we can here command, though the subject, extended over any length, has an interest in

itself for every educationist to deduce maxims for his guidance, and for the student to measure his own position and strength. But it must be stated here, that the German schools are divided into three classes—1, *Gymnasien* (Grammar schools); 2, *Real Schulen* (middle schools); *Elementar Schulen* (primary schools) —the last often called in papers and books also *Volks Schulwesen*, if the writer is a liberal, or *Elementar Schulwesen*, if he is a conservative, and a votary of bureaucracy, where the boys of both sexes of the people (*Volks*) are *obliged* to attend up to the age of fourteen—the period of confirmation,—and then, whether or not to progress in their education, by joining the higher seminaries, is left entirely to the will and means of the parents. The children of the middle and upper classes do not attend these *Elementar Schulwesen*, but generally join *Burger Schulen*, or middle schools, in large towns. We have yet much to learn from the Germans, on school affairs; for they have been discussing and experimenting upon every theory of education for the last hundred years; every province has its own school-journal, and the teachers of every village hold their synods quarterly, to discuss every educational question,

from the form of a letter to an intricate system of instruction. As for the objection of Government compulsion, we may justly say, that if it was true in the beginning of the system, it is not so now; for the habit of attending school up to the age of fourteen has become a part of established manners, enforced more by public opinion than by legislation, leaving aside every consideration of the circumstance, by no means insignificant, that the system received its first impulse from the Reformation, as a necessary consequence. But we will allow a competent authority to give judgment on this point:—

"It is often taken for granted," says Mr. Pattison, "that the school establishments in the several states of Germany originated in, and are maintained by, the arbitrary will of their Governments, without any regard had to the wants and peculiarities of the people for whose use they are intended. If this were true, it would indeed follow that little was to be learnt from such artificial creations. But it is not true. It is precisely because the history of education in Germany is a part of the national history, and the school a genuine offshoot of national life, strongly rooted in the

soil, that we may consult it with advantage. The general uniformity of the organisation of primary instruction throughout Germany may be appealed to in proof that it originated in common necessities, and not in the caprice of individual governments. And to speak only of Prussia, nothing is more remarkable than the way in which the vicissitudes of general opinion, pervading its educated classes, manifest themselves in process of time in the elementary schools. While the grammar-schools and universities have remained, as to method, pretty much what they always were, the elementary school has been invaded by all the theories of education which have successively prevailed, each of which has left behind it a portion of good. This is meant of the method of teaching in the school; but it is true in some measure of the political organisation of education."

But even granting that this system was and is *octroyé*, as the Germans call it, is our educational system less an imposition than the above? Our schools and colleges are neither maintained nor managed by the people for whose use they have been set up; but Government controls them by means of directors and inspectors,

agreeably to their own notions of what is good or bad. If the German *Baur* and *Handwerker* have the education of their sons and daughters taken out of their hands by Government, no less have the Indian *Zemindar* and petty trader by their Government; and even in England, what are called national schools are wholly maintained and *managed*, not by the parents of the children who join them, but by the great landholders and the clergy, in everything relating to their support and management, *for* them. It is everywhere the case, in some modification or other, that the poor and half-literate, at the most peasant or artisan, never takes charge of the schools for the instruction of his children; and we notice it here for the purpose of showing that there is in reality a greater correspondence between the English, and especially Indo-English and the German system of education, than is at first imagined.

There is another charge levelled at the German system, that it results in a kind of quietism, tame submission, or *stilles wesen*, in the phraseology of the German school-boys; but whether or not this tame submissiveness of the German people is to be charged to their

educational system, we will decide by the opinion of another great authority:—

"A proverb has obtained currency in Prussia which explains the whole mystery of the relation between their schools and life—'The school is good, the world is bad.' The quiescence or torpidity of social life stifles the activity excited in the schoolroom. Whatever pernicious habits and customs exist in the community act as antagonistic forces against the moral training of the teacher. The power of the Government presses upon the partially developed faculties of the youth as with a mountain's weight. . . . When the children come out from the school, they have little use either for the faculties that have been developed, or for the knowledge that has been acquired. Their resources are not brought into demand—their powers are not roused and strengthened by exercise. Our common, 'the active duties of life,' 'the responsibilities of citizenship,' 'the career of action,' would be strange sounding words in a Prussian ear. There Government steps in to take care of the subject, almost as much as the subject takes care of his cattle. The subject has no officers to choose, no inquiry into the character or eligibleness of candidates

to make, no vote to give. He has no laws to enact or abolish. He has no questions about peace or war, finance, taxes, tariffs, post-office, or internal improvement, to decide or discuss. He is not asked where a road shall be laid, or how a bridge shall be built, although in the one case he has to perform the labour, and in the other to supply the materials. His sovereign is born to him. The laws are made for him. In war, his part is not to declare it, or to end it, but to fight and be shot in it, and to pay for it. The tax-gatherer tells him how much he has to pay. The ecclesiastical authority plans a church, which he must build, and his spiritual guide—who has been set over him by another—prepares a creed and a confession of faith all ready for his signature. He is directed alike how he must obey his king and worship his God. Now, although there is a sleeping ocean in the bosom of every child that is born into the world, yet, if no freshening, life-giving breeze, ever sweeps across its surface, why should it not repose in dark stagnation for ever?

"Many of our expensively educated citizens will understand what I mean in saying that when they came from the schools, and entered

upon the stage of life, they had a practical education to *begin.* Though possessed of more lore than they could recite, they still had the *a b c* of a business education to commence. What, then, must be the condition of a people to the great body of whom not even this late necessity ever comes?

"Besides, it was not till the beginning of the present century that the Prussian peasantry were emancipated from a condition of absolute vassalage. Who could expect that the spirit of a nation, which centuries of despotism had benumbed and stupefied, could at once resume its pristine vigour and elasticity?"—*Horace Mann.*

Let us, then, by all means, have the Prussian system introduced: compel people to send their sons into our schools; and though it be a compulsion at first, it will in the course of a few years grow into a habit—a national system of education assimilated with the national life, as we have already seen in one part of the globe. And though the Germans failed to bring about by means of a stupid regulation "a decided reaction in the whole life of the age"—("Das gesammte Leben des Zeitalters an einer Gänzlinie angekommen ist, wo ein

entscheidender Umschwung nöthing geworden"*),—because it was a stupid object aimed at by a set of illiberal men, we on the contrary will positively succeed in creating a wholesome as well as complete reaction in our country, because we are actuated by nothing else than a spirit of pure liberalism. The circumstances of our country urgently demand the system—it is extremely poor (so far as the millions are concerned), and it has been inured to a torpor of intellectual lassitude by oppression and a neglect of centuries of misrule. It has, like Germany, long since lost its independence; it has, like Germany, long ceased to have a nationality of its own; it has, like Germany, wretchedness and misery even more than sufficient to task a whole family of philanthropists to relieve in a single district or village; its millions, like the millions of Germany, are quite habituated and content to receive all impressions from the centralising authority; its millions, like the millions of Germany, of whatever grade and colour, utterly lack energy and a spirit of independence;—and these are all striking resemblances, which no statesman or scholar

* Regulation 3, Oct. 1854.

will do well to neglect in the history of his efforts to eradicate ignorance and error, and illustrate the truth in this land of darkness, ignorance, and misery.

But suppose we succeed in forcing preliminary education on the children of the lowest order—education not of the mere grounding in reading, writing, and arithmetic; for we have no faith in these mechanical evolutions—but of thought, reflection, and taste for reading,—how are we to continue it in after-life? We, the educated of well-to-do classes, put our greatest pride of intelligence in after-life, when what we have learnt at the school and at the college is matured and expanded—when what we have in that wonderful depository, which is always expending and yet never losing, is applied to the external objects of life, to gain knowledge and reflection to the mind and discipline and self-control to the heart, all that time that life is to be drawn through. But the whole of the education-life of the poor child is concentred in the period of his school—in some few years, or perhaps few months,—and he has afterwards to follow life in those arduous labours of the hands, which render thought and reflection almost impossible to the mind. At the

school or the seminary, he learnt perhaps to read, think, and reflect, and swell his bosom in aspirations of heaven-born nature; but the whole of his life afterwards is passed in the performance of those duties that he has no choice to shirk, and that engage him as mechanically as the animals he tends, forgetful of the days that he passed in dignified labour and pleasures. If you have, then, educated him according to the Prussian system, his after-life would sadly disappoint the object in view, unless you contrive a spur to keep him on, mindful of his earlier days and tastes. How shall we do this? In this also, as before, we must indent upon a foreign system. For the last three hundred years in France, a special literature was created for the agricultural population, and supplied to every corner of the land by means of what the Frenchman calls the *colportage*. As this is a subject which those not intimately acquainted with French literature and society are not expected to be conversant with, it may not be amiss to give a succinct account in this place. True to the instincts of a bureaucracy, the French Government granted licenses for diffusing books throughout the country, and men provided with

this license carried into every part of the country the particular class of books expressly prepared for the lower people at Paris, Troyes, Montpellier, and Epinal, which were the centres of the publication of this literature. About eight or nine millions of volumes on different subjects, ranging in price from a half-penny to ten-pence, were circulated in this manner. As there was no supervision, works of indifferent taste and morality often found place in this circulation, and in many places they had even become so pernicious that the Government determined at length to examine into the character of the books issued for the people; and M. Maupas, the Minister of Police, instituted a commission on the 30th of November 1858, which had the power to call in and examine every book that was circulated by means of the *colportage*. That the commission might be enabled to perform their function without any difficulty, it was ordered, that, in future, besides the *colporteur's* license, it should be imperative that every book carried by a *colporteur* should have the stamp of the commission upon it. The printers of this literature were thus obliged to send in their publications that they might be examined for an approval or

rejection. The number of yearly publications now considerably diminished; and the works that thus came before the commission during its holding for two years amounted to only 7,500! The commission, on the 2nd of July 1854, upon the suppression of the ministry of police, was transferred to the home government, and there has continued its sittings; and out of even the 7,500 volumes submitted to the commission, three-fourths were rejected, after an examination of extreme scrupulousness and taste! In 1855, M. C. Nisard, the auxiliary secretary of the commission, in two very interesting volumes,* analyses and cursorily describes upwards of five hundred of the volumes sent in for examination, and from this analysis we fail not to be struck with gloominess, when we learn that the literature circulated for three hundred years consisted of superstitious works of old astrology, in the shape of almanacks, medicine, veterinary art, and a mass of trash by way of stories of robbers, pirates, and highwaymen and others, absolutely intolerable and unmentionable in writing with any degree of

* "*A Report on Popular Literature*," by M. Charles Nisard.

propriety and virtue. It must not, however, be left out of mention, that besides the secular *colportage*, there was a religious *colportage*, for the carrying of religious tracts and poetry of the most ennobling and refining character, which are worthy of being still continued in the mouths and hearts of the people.

The reader will from this account be tempted to form a low estimate of the French literature and the *colportage;* but when he is tempted to depreciate the French in comparison with the English, he has only to conceive of the immense quantities of the penny publications issuing weekly from the London press, and by a system of complete organisation made to reach the most distant parts of the country, some of them varying in circulation from 60,000 to 500,000 copies per week, filled with all nonsense, in the form of essays and poetry, tales of daring robberies, dark assassinations and wonderful escapes, until "Jack Shepherd" or "Robert Macaire" becomes the hero, and they who contemplate the crime before them learn at the same time the thousand and one stratagems by which its punishment may be avoided. The French have no cheap periodical of the kind among them, so far as our acquaintance with

their past and present literature enables us to affirm; and we can well imagine that the influence of a few volumes, brought three or four times a year by the *colporteur*, in his periodical rounds, which are then read and thrown by on the shelves, must be infinitely smaller than the pernicious effects of the publications that come round week after week. And if the French have tales of their own notorieties, their "Cartouches" and their "Mandrins," why, where is the cottage family library in England, in which, if you find any number of books, you do not calculate upon finding the "Newgate Calendar," and "Robert Macaire," and "Maria Monk," and "The Mysteries," to pervert the literary palate and lower the moral tone on the greatest of social crimes? But *revenons à nos moutons*—the void created in the publication and circulation of the cheap literature, by the organisation and the scrupulous working of the commission in France, must have been immense, and it was a question of long consideration how to fill it up. The booksellers were, of course, immediately put to their wits, and they sent in almost a sufficient quantity of new works to replace the rejected ones; but the majority even of these were rejected, and Go-

vernment themselves at length attempted to supply the want, by animating with rewards persons of real genius and learning to prepare simple series of works for the people—histories, biographies, poetry, books on travels, agriculture, elementary chemistry, mechanics, medicine, and others.

Now, our mentioning what was done in France was of course to prepare a parallel for our country; and if it be quite out of the question to attempt to deal here in any way as they generally do in France, we should at least have something analogous to it. We have here a growing cry that we have no literature in the vernaculars; and, indeed, we shall never have it! If there is any work that promises to remain as a fit Gujarati work for study, it is assuredly Mr. Dosabhai Framji's "*Travels in Europe*," which is written in a style never yet attained to by any past or present writer; and considering the uncultivated state of the language, and the want of any work of authority, the writer may justly claim the honour and dignity awarded to Macaulay in the realms of English literature. But such works are rare indeed; in fact, it is unique in its department; and even the active zeal which Mr. Howard, the Direc-

tor of Public Instruction, always displays in the promotion of vernacular literature, will fail, we are firmly persuaded, as it has already failed, to secure the desired object. If nothing else, the easiest and most practicable imitation of the French *colportage* would be the formation of a committee consisting of about half-a-dozen of the rich class, and a few well educated and talented young men, the former supplying the pecuniary, the latter the literary assistance. Several young men will be found ready to make up works, not of the careless kind, as at present got up—even poetry, not of the disgustingly artificial and nonsensical doggerel of a stale and unoriginal kind, now poured in by the so-called Poets of Bombay, but sound and wholesome works, worthy to take a place in the much needed literature for the language and the people. These works might be printed at the expense of the committee, and circulated through every corner of the city and the interior at an anna or two every month or quarter. Until we take some such leaf from the history of France, we must rest content to be hundreds of years more behind than we might otherwise be, and remain a nation under the protection of a country pre-eminent for the

extent both of its power and literature in these days—a nation following close on the heels of the protecting people in point of pursuits and enterprises, and yet a nation, most shameful to say, without a literature of its own!

In addition to these measures of salutary reform, the last, though not the least, should never be lost sight of—the establishment of clubs, such as those in England, where men of all castes and creeds may meet every evening, to refresh themselves, as well as to discuss and discourse on topics of importance. It is said that the French have no word in their whole vocabulary to adequately express the homely monosyllable "club"; and well they may lack it, so long as they are trampled down by *bureaucracy* and despotism; for the institution is the growth of English freedom and English intelligence, searching and grasping every question affecting the destinies of men on the other side of the globe. But we never meet together to seriously discuss topics of vital importance to ourselves, and this decides as to where we are or where we will be some time hence. We are judges, deputy magistrates and collectors, translators and interpreters, attorneys, doctors of medicine, reporters

and editors of English and vernacular newspapers and magazines; we hold high and responsible offices in the service of the State;—but these persons and things do not go to make up the sum of national power and national strength. The elements necessary to the prosperity of a people are absent in the fabric of the Native community; for there is a lack of public spirit, and there is but a very indifferent public opinion among us. The spirit of improvement from within lies asleep. With all our boasted knowledge of the English language, and through it the true appreciation of the high qualities and noble deeds of Englishmen, have we one man of talent or genius to compare with the humblest of England's celebrities? Whom can we set up as one who would fight for liberty of thought and speech as for his life-drops, or would spend a fortune to maintain a principle? There is no use multiplying such questions—the mournful truth must be told, that there is no public spirit amongst us to push us forward as a people in the ranks of enlightenment, and to gain national aggrandisement. We are all anxious to obtain lucrative employment; are delighted to see ourselves praised in the newspapers, and set a friend

or two to write about us; to read an essay or two at the Students' Society or the Instructional Association; attend the libraries to read the news of the day, or some interesting novels; meet at the bandstand, and talk of the shortcomings of the educational department, reproach Sir Charles Wood for excluding the Natives from the army medical service, speak jeeringly of the secretary and members of the Bombay Association, perhaps think of the propriety of becoming volunteers to defend the Queen and her throne—and go on *talking* and *thinking* only. We are aware we may be voted unpatriotic for thus expressing ourselves, but we prefer running the risk of this, to being guilty of flattering the self-conceit of our countrymen; and we have a natural disgust for palliatives. Unless our failings be accurately ascertained —and we have done something towards it,— there is fear of our remaining where we are, many years hence, without advancing one single step, socially, morally, or politically. Our exertions have been sadly deficient in a direction where they are most required. The conviction sinks deeper into our mind every day, that until the really educated Natives are banded together in all earnestness for purely

intellectual purposes; until they travel voluntarily beyond the atmosphere of self, and mutual disunion, which unfortunately too well mark their present bearing; until they meet at a certain place, as often as may be, for the discussion of *every* social and political question bearing upon their own and their countrymen's welfare; until they gird up their loins, and are ready to make sacrifices in a severe struggle with the prejudices and superstitions of their ignorant countrymen, and free them from the chains of priestcraft and error—until then, it is plain, no lasting benefits will have been obtained. It was thus that Baboo Harrischander amused himself at Baboo Samboonath Pundit's residence, and ventilated every question of law and politics, to grasp them so cleverly in his after writings; it is thus that in England every question of legislature and domestic anomalics is handled and discussed, from the highest to the lowest; it is thus that every English evening is both refreshing to the body and invigorating to the mind, and rights are understood and sought after constitutionally at every step; and it is thus that we must attempt to rise in the scale of national life, if we will it, instead

of idly grumbling and repining for the curtailment of our just rights and privileges, or of the asserted position of our countrymen to ranks of reward, remuneration, and honour. No doubt, Government must further every project for the establishment of clubs; but that that project is doubly imperative in the exigencies of our present circumstances, there is needed only one consideration for conviction. The British Government and the British nation have in our country evoked a new order of thought, and created a new morality, unknown to any nation on the surface of the earth, ancient or modern. In the imparting of education, there was and still is the religious element, always combined by every nation in every period of their history. In olden days, the study of the Sanskrit was invariably combined with the study of the Vedas; the Greeks and Romans taught their youths, along with their poets, orators, and philosophers, the mythic history of their gods; the Mongols in India deemed it their imperative duty to combine a study of *Al Koran* with Firdooshi, Mirkhoond, or Saadi, and even now, in Persia, hold any deviation therefrom a desecration unatonable by all earthly expiations. In France,

England, and the whole of Europe, the Bible is read side by side with Racine or Molière, Pope or Shakspeare, Schiller or Göethe: but it is only in British India that the best of poetry and philosophy is imbibed without the religious sentiment directed towards Him whose light is the source and sum of all knowledge. It is no small credit to Young India, that he has, in this anomalous procedure, kept true to his better instincts, and proved by his moral conduct in any position, low or high, that temporal education, without the religious element, does not necessarily result in breeding up what has epigrammatically been called "a clever devil." Those who have watched him most narrowly in any line, and especially in places of trust, so alluring to the unformed and unself-controlling, to break restraints, and run loose, have sedulously observed that the trust is not abused, and that plunder, bribery, and extortion, intimidating moral corruption, are not held to be the legalised deeds of the elevation of office. Certainly, it is impossible to think that a sound and healthy literature like the English, even without being saturated with the spirit of any religion, can fail to make him a good man in his relations of a

neighbour and citizen, fail to make him do unto others as he wishes others would do unto him, and secure the honest discharge of duty to his employers and loyal allegiance to his sovereign. It should rather seem to be a defect in the character of the literature itself that needs support and health from religion; and we do not believe whether education in England, France, and Germany, can at all deteriorate or lower in any sensible degree the moral tone of the nation, were it to be imparted without being Pharisaic in its nature, and holding for its mission what Furbringer hastily laid down to be the development of the church-life of the people, as he said—"*das religios kirkliche Leben des Volks.*"* We are

* From this, it must not be concluded that the writer is at all opposed to the study of the Bible. Few books has he read with greater interest and study than the English and Latin Bibles, and, if not for anything else, he should hold it as a fit study for every educated young Native in the literary and historical points of view. All that he wants to repudiate here is the charge of a want of healthy moral tone in the conduct and character of Young India, so often laid to their door, with a view to claim superiority in these respects to the missionary-trained boys. He has seen two or three missionary students wallowing in all sorts of wretchedness, loitering on the road, and begging alms from charitably disposed gentlemen. He is not aware whether any such objectionable instances are at all

bred up without religion; we are educated without the spirit of religion, and perhaps we continue to live without the strong hold of religion—with a thought and morality quite unique from all hitherto known in the ancient or modern world; so that we need in an imperative degree combinations and clubs to keep up a tone of refinement and polish by daily checks, examples, and discourses, through our manifold concerns in the world as fathers, brothers, neighbours, and citizens.

The scheme, then, that we advocate for the regeneration of India, is simple and practicable enough; and for any delay thereto there cannot now be urged a specious reason, when we have a munificent grant allotted by the Home Government—we do not know how we (Natives) should call it; and have also a well-trained class of young men, to serve as so many lights —"few and far between" no doubt, but yet lights—to illuminate the whole country from one corner to the other. We can arrange it

to be found from among the students of Government schools and colleges, for none has as yet come to his notice: and as for the mental superiority of the missionary students over the others, while this work was in the press, the writer had a contribution in an English journal holding a different opinion.

under only a few heads,* intelligible alike to the boor and the scholar, and these we hold to be the different directions in which the Government grant could be advantageously applied:—

1*st*.—The establishment of colleges for instruction in the occidental and oriental literatures at the capital towns of the chief divisions of English jurisdiction, such as Calcutta, Jessore, Bhagulpore, Cuttack, Moorshedabad, Patna, Benares, and Allahabad in the Bengal Presidency —the colleges at Lahore, Mooltan, and Lucknow being deemed sufficient for the scattered provinces under the Supreme Government; Delhi, Rohilcund, and Agra in the Presidency of N. W. Provinces; Bombay, Kurrachee, Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat, Poona, Ahmednuggur, Sholapore, Sattara, Belgaum, and Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency; and Madras, Masulipatam, Nellore, Arcot, Coimbatoor, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, Mysore, and Canara in the Madras Presidency. Of course, we require colleges to the number we have calculated for each divisions; we only suggest here some of the princi-

* These heads are given from the well-known "Indo-philus," in his own words, especially after the 6th—adding and changing only when the altered circumstances of the country since, and of this Presidency in particular, rendered the change necessary.

pal sites. These institutions should be self-supporting, all the assistance rendered by the Government being the salaries of the principal and the professors of English and Sanskrit or Persian literatures, and the cost of the building. It is silly a waste of money to educate gratuitously, and to even bribe with scholarships, all the Baboos, Parsis, Marathas, and Telingoos who can, when left to themselves, well afford to educate their children. Nowhere on the surface of the earth, excluding India, is high education in literature and science given gratuitously to beggarly or stingy youths.

2nd.—The establishment in each Presidency town of scientific colleges, for the instruction of the medical student, the lawyer, the mechanic, and the civil engineer, also self-supporting, except in the salary of the principal, and the cost of the building. We require also normal colleges, as before stated, and these may safely be taken under support and patronage in every respect by the Government, as it would be the height of unwisdom to render them self-supporting, when education is so much at a discount in this country, as the teachership, however high, is generally accepted as the last hope of Indian studentship.

3rd.—The wide diffusion of primary education in the vernacular, and, if possible, in English also, in every district of the country. It is impossible to calculate the advantages which will arise from a judicious dissemination of elementary education, by which superstition and apathy will be removed, and a taste for refinement and civilisation strengthened and improved, till at length there will be a self-supporting primary school in every cluster of villages, and a superior school in every local division. A great deal depends on the supervising machinery, which should be distinct from the collectorship and the judgeship, and zealous and hard-working.

4th.—Assistance, agreeably to the present grant-in-aid system, should be given to every private educational body, without distinction of race and creed. There should be, besides official supervision, a general educational committee in each Presidency, consisting of men who have studied the subject, and have earnestness to serve the cause, whether in or out of the services. They would act as a beneficial check on the official body, which, without any check, as at present, is very likely to be indifferent and arbitrary.

These are the great points to be borne in view. They form the main body of the educational army, which is to march against the opposing strongholds of darkness and degradation; but we should, with them, have also light troops; as in the field of battle, the skirmishers of the advancing force; and these must be sent in eleven different directions, so that we shall have for our 6th point—

6th.—Every gaol in India should be converted into an industrial school; every prisoner taught to read, write, and to work out calculations. This is no theory, but a practical scheme, having been at one time fully developed with the best effect in the Agra and Midnapore gaols;—honour to him to whose benevolent mind it first suggested itself! The weary hours of the prison are thus profitably employed, savages are made less savage, and the ignorant, besides being taught a profession, has his intellect brightened, and if under its influence for a long period, will return to society, not to injure and dishonour it, but to pursue an honest calling in life, or at any rate not worse, as he does now.

7th.—Every regiment of the Native army should have a real and efficient school, and

a good schoolmaster, and it should be the duty of officers commanding companies to encourage the student, and excite the slothful. Regimental libraries should be established, and books prepared, not only for officers, as is at present done, but for the sepoy, in the vernacular, of a popular kind, and a military character. The long days in garrison and on treasure parties would be whiled away by accounts of the wars of the East India Company, the martial pluck of England, and the glory of her constitution. Every regiment should, moreover, have its annals of war, and triumphs, written and printed in the vernacular of the soldier.

8*th*.—The same remark that was made with regard to gaols applies to hospitals of a permanent nature, where patients are detained for a long period with chronic complaints.

9*th*.—In every capital town of a district there should be a shop for the sale of vernacular books. Vernacular literature is slowly developing, and encouragement ought to be given to authors and compilers. The district officer should open a shop in the *bazar*, in charge of an agent who would be repaid by a percentage, with a constant supply of books in all languages, of kinds

suited to the public taste, which might be forwarded to him by the curator of the Government depôt at the Presidency, who should be authorised to purchase largely of all publishers, and make arrangements with authors of known ability for the copyright of their manuscripts. This has answered well where it has been introduced, and it is so palpably advantageous, that no further remarks are required except that, as the system answers in any town, Government should withdraw from the field, leaving the management of the trade in private hands. An extensive system of the French *colportage* might also be advantageously connected with the district depôt, by which the inhabitants of the smaller towns might be supplied. It is a gratifying fact that attention and patronage have been most liberally bestowed on vernacular literature on this side of India.

10*th*.—Annual prizes should be offered for vernacular essays, compilations, and translations, open to the whole community, and the reward should be commensurate with the labour required. It has been complained by the Director of Public Instruction, that he has failed to secure any competition in essay-writing; but

the fact is, that the prizes offered by him have always been too beggarly to excite any very great erudition or industry; while the competition being limited only to the students of the Elphinstone and Poona Colleges, necessarily *retrecit*, as the French would say, the field. It is not to be wondered at, if for a pittance of Rs. 100 or 150, and again with the competition limited to the poor field of two colleges, no one with talents and learning, fitted to compete, will volunteer his attempt.

12*th*.—Pensions should be granted to superannuated servants in the educational department. It is a great scandal that the commonest gray goose-quill driver enjoys the advantage denied to members of the most useful body of public servants, that the pension to these should be the exception and not the rule, the reward of occasional favour, and not the right exacted. When Dr. Harkness, the late talented Principal of the Elphinstone College, after completing his successful service of a quarter of a century, stood up as a candidate for its reward, Government wanted the grace to consider his claim, and kept him in suspense for full *three* years; and even after these, when the old worn-out principal at length submitted his resigna-

tion, he received no positive reply, and reached England uncertain whether he was to receive any pension at all!

13*th*.—The public servants of the Government should be raised from the apathy in which many at present exist, and it should be made distinctly known to them that they are expected to take and show an interest in the educational movements of their districts, by personal inspection and encouragement to the teachers and the students. One most successful mode to stimulate industry and education is by giving preference to the young men of our schools and colleges over the untrained old men in all offices, from the highest to the lowest. It has been amply proved, that if for no higher motive, for the sake of *their own comfort and convenience*, the heads of offices and departments are now only too glad to obtain the services of well educated young men. And when the attainments of those who pass our university examinations are prominently brought forward, as they will be under the new rules, we may feel satisfied that, as a general rule, these persons will in practice have a preference, and that we may safely rely on the good sense and discretion of the heads of offices to bring about this result.

At one time, it was deemed necessary to have stringent rules to induce public officers to give a preference to educated young men in selecting their subordinates; but now experience shows that the desired inducement has come over our public officers during the last few years, without the existence of any stringent rules; yet the fear was natural, and certainly not groundless at one time. We all remember how, so late as even five and seven years past—thanks to the liberality of English officers of every denomination,—they openly announced that what they wanted was not what was called an abbling in Shakespeare and Milton, Abercrombie and Bacon, but practice in the routine drudgery of office. The civil service, as was natural, reversed the fable of Aladdin's wife. They had an old lamp, which gave but a feeble light, had no magic, and but little virtue; and so they were timid about exchanging this for a new light, which has given much illumination, and is capable of great performances. But it has now fortunately been asserted, that a sense of their own comfort and convenience has induced the civil service to avail itself of the educated youth of the different Presidencies. That is

no doubt sufficient to account for their change of conduct; but we should ourselves be disposed to attribute to them higher motives, and an unselfish recognition of the claims and merits of the candidates. The ordinary laws of supply and demand have, according to the instincts of political economy, been sufficient in this case; the demand has exercised a reflected action upon the supply, and stimulated the Native public to give to their children an enlightened education; but the demand had in the first instance to create itself, and this it did by satisfactorily proving to conviction that the new instrument was far better than the old.

14*th*.—Patronage should be afforded to really intelligent and educated men; and as soon as the public institutions produce qualified youths for public employ, they should be employed in berths of emolument and honour. But taste should be different from mere learning in the present circumstances of the country. It is hopeless to employ in public offices lads full of Bacon and Shakespeare, conic sections and the last comet, without the common rudiments of their own vernacular, a habit of thought, and an inclination to exert every means in their

power to disseminate by periodicals, books, &c. the benefits of an education, which they have received gratis at the hands of their Government.

15*th*.—Grants should always be made by the committee for the establishment and support of female schools wherever there is an opening: the right moment should be seized, and the funds being at once available, the scheme carried out, not in its present hypocritical and useless tendency, but in a spirit of earnestness and real intelligence. If the female character can be relied on, the chances are, that a school once properly established will not easily go down. A series of books should also be published, suitable for the Indian female. Government have stood quite aloof as yet from female education, as though they required good male citizens, and an indifferent unthinking female population! If nothing else, it is highly imperative on Government to found four female colleges at Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, and Madras, imparting a thorough education to the inmates of the institutions, where they

> "Would teach all that men are taught;
> They are twice as quick."*

* Tennyson.

It is a positive disgrace to England that America and France should, in the disseminations of their female education, and the elevation of their millions, leave her so far behind in the race. In India, she has been sinfully negligent in her mission of female amelioration; she has literally confined woman to a moral and mental void, without one effort, those of individual philanthropists excepted, to raise her to breathe the purer air. She has only too well imitated the barbarians of the East, her immediate predecessors in this country, the Mahomedans, and she may well deserve their fate. The vengeance of God yet tarries—may she awake to her duty ere it alights upon her!

16*th*.—Annual grants should be made for the maintenance of museums at each of the capital cities of the provinces in India, as here as elsewhere the eye is spoken to quicker than the ear; and these museums should be formed with care and selection, and not filled with unmeaning rubbish, but such products of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, stuffed animals, models, pictures, and other objects, as are calculated to rouse a spirit of inquiry in the observant. These must be in the centres of population, and not removed to a nook to

suit the convenience of Government and their officers. The proposed site of the Bombay Museum at Chinchpoogly, and such localities, are highly objectionable. Half the value of the institution is lost by its being removed so far from the centre of population.

17*th.*—In each Presidency there should be a well-trained literary man, such as the French would call a *savant*, employed solely in collating and collecting maunscripts, forming careful "*catalogue raisonnées*" of the authors in every vernacular, buying or obtaining copies of scarce books, and forming translations whenever necessary. His duty would be to develope the Native literature of the country. And it really is a great reflection against the British Government, that after the occupation of the country for upwards of half a century, there is nothing approaching to a properly digested catalogue of Native literature. The French Government would have published one in the first decade; they would probably, in doing so, have rifled every library in the country, which the English would decline doing, but still they would have had their catalogue ere long.

But to continue our simile, we must have the anuniments of war to carry on the warfare;

we must have also continual supplies; for if these were neglected, we have no hope of success in the field. We must, therefore, have

18*th*.—Teachers, not of the character of *goorumahasyas*, *ayah pundits*, or *moulvies*, or even our present Anglo-Indian teachers, so deficient as to walk down a mile and a half about an English letter, as before stated; but regular pedagogues, well-grounded in the three sciences, the use of the mouth, the hand, and the brain; supplied, not from the last forms of colleges, but from the best of our students. When Government give a gratuitous education at the college, the best student must be compelled to serve an apprenticeship of master ship for about two years *in return*.

19*th*.—We must have paper. There is a fair opening for private enterprise in the establishment of paper manufactories in the different parts of India, instead of any one of these, from want of paper-mills within it, requiring to send to any other, situate at a great distance, for that article. Anything that cheapens paper assists the cause of enlightenment and progress.

20*th*.—It is gratifying to note that our vernacular papers are slowly and steadily progress-

ing; but even now it will be hard to point to any very great intelligence or sound education from among the ranks of our vernacular writers. Their writings, now so respectably different from what they once were, still lack that good sense, originality, and liberalism, which a sound liberal education infuses. There are yet some among them who are beneath contempt; but the majority, though tinged with party spirit, are a respectable class of men. They have unfortunately no great support, and hence they pay little attention, and show little zeal in their labours. Government ought to patronise some of them. A certain number of copies taken by the Government would assist the more enlightened editors, without destroying their independence; and these, again, distributed to public institutions in all the Presidencies, would do somewhat to connect the detached portions of the empire together. It is a shame that as yet Government or the people have thought nothing of encyclopædias in the different vernaculars. They are, as the dictionary, the urgent need of a people, and it is not a little to be regretted that as yet no attempt has not only not been made, but is not even to be made in the present day. Encyclopædias should be

edited in all the vernaculars, and tracts and pamphlets of a moral and instructive nature should be struck off by thousands, every month, and sold in all the towns, at so low a price as to come within the means of the poorest; besides which, many should be distributed gratuitously through the assistance of a committee such as we have suggested.

These, and many others which may very easily be evolved out of these, are more necessary and important than railways, and electric telegraphs, and contract laws, for the Government to consider. The Government of India think nothing of voting a lakh for a coffee or tea-garden, or a munificent donation to a profligate Rajah; they brighten up at the idea of an improved method of cultivating cotton, and come down liberally with cash for a new road or railway: but would it not be wiser—setting aside the benevolence and the duty—to plant schools, and endow seminaries, where morality and science are taught; to dispel the maze of popular superstition, and bring down a flood of light and increase on the Indian mind, as well as on the land where it now festers?

CHAPTER X.

REGENERATION OF INDIA—ANOTHER MEANS.

THE two classes of writers on India.—Two dangers to India.—The difficulties of making a successful stand in the Punjab against the Russians stated.—Confidence and a feeling of Patriotism more requisite on the defensive line of operations, than strength and discipline.—Warlike tribes of Upper India, and their ambition.—The only measure to avert the danger is Colonisation.—Colonisation of two sorts.—That which we ask for India different from all colonisations to America and Australia, and beneficial to India only.—The presence of the English Settlers also beneficial, in checking all abuse of official power in the interior.—English settlement will enhance our crops and resources.—Art wholly wanting in the Native Peasant.—Anglo-Saxon zeal for improvement.—The Anglo-Indian Government worse than the Roman and Mahomedan, in their zeal for public works of utility.—Difference between Calcutta and Delhi or Agra.—All extensive conquests preserved by Colonisation.—English settlement peculiarly beneficial to *Young India*.—Rights will then be more liberally granted. A question to *Young India*.—England's mission in India threefold.

THERE have been written volumes upon the condition of India; but nothing whatever has been practically attempted for the removal of those causes which fallow the rich resources

of the soil or paralyse the spirit of the people. In the long and extravagant controversy, one set of writers is proscribed for viewing and analysing with European prejudices, whilst the other is condemned as having Asiatic apathy, for deeming the wretchedness of the condition of India as inevitable, and therefore indifferent to England; and while we are taken up with deciding upon the comparative merits of opposite advocacies, time passes away, and India is left to her own fate, uncared for and neglected.

The English nation is proverbially too intrepid of danger; and this intrepidity, if it has escaped in Europe on more than one occasion its merited penalty, in India at no distant date will the supinely-disposed nation have to pay for it dearly. Two powers have long entered into a treacherous conspiracy, each to retrieve a political dishonour that has pinned it to a national inferiority; and both, despairing of striking for honour on European soil, have chosen India as the field for their redeeming glory. To this thirst of vengeance, if we add the stimulus of political avarice, which both are too weak to resist, as well as the facility afforded by the want of organisation of every sort for a successful stand against their object,

we may be assured that every circumstance conspires to produce the collision of England with France and Russia on the confines of India—with the first by sea on the southern coast, and with the second by land on the north-western frontier. Considering England's maritime power, we can imagine that she can easily line the Indian coast with one strong fortress of frigates and men-of-war, which France will scarcely be strong enough to break through. But the danger thus looming in the distance requires necessarily to be reckoned up beforehand, so that, when her trial comes, she may not be found wanting in the balance of strife. And conceiving the probability of the second, the mind naturally recurs to the Macedonian conquest; when, from the vague accounts which history has been able to give of the enterprise of Alexander, we are tempted to assure ourselves upon the immense length and difficulties of the march, and the untameable ferocity of the savage tribes whose territories would have to be crossed. But in so supinely reckoning our safety, we lose all consideration of the improvement of modern warfare, and the fact of Russian authority and organisation already extending to the very spot whence the Mongol and

Tartar Conquerors of India started on their race. Besides, Russia needs not necessarily force her way by open injustice or violence to the intervening hordes; she has already a less obtrusive line of policy set to her as an example by the East India Company in their conquest of India;—while the disputes, which never fail to attend succession to the throne of Persia, and the general imbecility of the nation, might supply an opportunity for Russia to extend her influence in Central Asia for an Indian invasion. On the Indus, then, the die will be cast; and success or defeat will be the result only in the Punjab, where armies will have to be marched from Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, the distance between the field of action and the starting-points being as great as nearly the whole breadth of the European continent, with tribes and nations interspersed differing as much from each other as the Spaniard from the Hungarian, or the English from the Italian; and if these extensive marches weigh nothing upon the European troops (which requires yet to be proved), the cold and fatigue must have a great effect on the Native regiments, whom sickness and a depression of spirit, the *maladie du pays*, will render almost whol-

ly ineffectual. It will, besides, be difficult to inspire rebellious tribes and Native regiments, differing and opposed as they are in principles to each other, and ignorant of conceiving the stability of British power in the East, with any degree of confidence; and though discipline and courage avail in the impulse of aggression, in defence, we necessarily require confidence of the highest degree, and a feeling of patriotism, to bear the brunt of invading impetuosity. The resistance of the French when the Russians attempted to retake their position at Borodino, and of Havelock's noble band at Lucknow, are only too recent instances of confidence of success and self-devotion achieving triumphs in the defensive line under the most trying circumstances of overwhelming numbers and well-regulated discipline. The armies of Native troops brought into action will sadly be wanting in these springs of success; while the fact should never be neglected, that Upper India is replete with those restless tribes, which history has described as ever ambitious to seek for a change of masters; and in point of fact, Baber, Nadir, and Ahmed—the three greatest conquerors of the East—invaded India with a contemptible force, but succeeded on the battle-

field through the support and alliance of some of these tribes. And once the Punjab passed, our invaders shall have only a flat and unobstructing tract of country to march through, and the British Government will then have no alternative but to commit the fortunes of their empire to the issue of one great battle, on the plains perhaps of Paniput, which history has recorded to be invariably fatal to India.

The only measure to avert this appalling danger, the measure so often suggested, and as often evaded, is colonisation. Colonisation is of two distinct kinds—one benefiting exclusively the mother country, by relieving it of all surplus population, while the other tends to the benefit of the region colonised, by the infusion of a liberal degree of energy and intelligence into the mass of its ignorant and dull population, by the settlement of a few men of skill and activity. In the first instance, the mother country generally sends forth children with very limited means, and convicts; in the second, the colonisers are in most cases men of capital: and it is the confounding of these two distinct classes of colonists that has raised the unfounded cry against British emigration to India, and delayed as yet the inestimable benefit

so necessary to the governors no less than to the governed of this country. When we say that the British Isles should colonise India, we do not mean, certainly, that a crowd of settlers should be sent out here, as they have been to America, the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, and New Zealand; but only just so many as will suffice for the necessary admixture of men of energy and intelligence with the dull and torpid millions of India, so as to develope the rich resources of its soil, which at present, for want of industry and ability, may be said to lie entirely fallow and uncultivated.

In the event of any such external invasion as we have before discussed occurring, the presence of British settlers will be of eminent service to Government, while the activity, courage, and knowledge of acclimated Saxons will be equal to a sustained effort against any opposing strength and discipline, for which the drooping spirits of fresh English troops, from unaccustomed Indian fatigue and heat, consequent on long marches necessary in an extensive line of military operations on the occasion, would be wholly unequal. Besides, the settlers having an interest in the soil of their adopted country, and reliance in the stability

of British power, Government may expect from them all that self-devotion and entire confidence so necessary in the defensive line on the field of battle. But apart from this eminent service in the perilous hour, Government cannot but feel the benefit of their presence in almost every stage of their administration; but more especially in the check which the presence of independent and wealthy settlers will oppose to all acts of an arbitrary and unjustifiable nature, which we find so often committed by public functionaries in the mofussil, where there is no press to ventilate misdeeds, and where the people are too submissive and ignorant to dispute authority. In the mofussil, where the Natives are so submissive, and where they have been so much trampled down as never to dare to say a word against the injury of person or property, there is at present every liability of any influence, power, and even private wealth, being grossly misused, as much by the Natives themselves as by Englishmen; and *Darogahs*, *Cotwals*, and *Jageerdars*, and Englishmen of whatever denomination, with very rare exceptions, are especially the terror of the poor people, who have no conception of their dignity as men, and no language to utter the grievances

of their heart. But when Indian colonisation is a *fait accompli*, Government will be able to check all abuse of power, rank, or wealth, by the presence of an intelligent and independent body of men in the different districts; and especially when they have to act in the commission of the peace in common with the chief Native residents, a restraint will be imposed which neither Collectors and Magistrates nor their subordinates will venture to get over, in the abuse of their authority. This oppression, which we mean to remove by colonisation, often amounts to violent personal injuries; in many instances to the infliction of wrongs which can never be forgotten or forgiven.

Science is absent in all works of labour and art in this country; fields are cultivated indifferently; ignorance of even the first principles of method and economy is seen in whatever is done; and the implements made use of are of the coarsest description—so useless that a crowd of labourers with these in hand execute far less work than a single European by means of his appliances of science and art. The settlement of the Anglo-Saxons in the country would materially change every cumbrous mode of present labour, and till and use the ground so as

to enhance its value very considerably, and make it yield crops and profits never yet realised by the hand of the poor and ignorant Native; and mixing with the Natives as farmers, planters, and traders, they would impart their knowledge, skill, and industry to the mass of the population, by example, and so render them in time as versed, skilful, and active as themselves, or any farmers, planters, or traders in Europe. This would tend to no small benefit to Government, in the shape of increased revenue, proportioned to an increased produce and profit.

Another benefit to the Government and the state would arise from the natural peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon to spread improvement wherever he goes. Men of other races are capable of surveying the blank spaces of the earth—its plains and mountains, its forests and deserts, its rivers and its seas—with perfect indifference, or as but an object of curiosity to the adventurous traveller or the audacious sportsman. But an Englishman sees them with eyes intent upon making some practical change: if he sees a marsh, he contrives to drain it; if he crosses a river in a boat, he projects a bridge over it; if he rides over a grassy plain, he thinks of turn-

ing it with a plough; and if he walks in a town, he sketches how he can travel in it on a rail-road. In India, this zeal is greatly needed in studding the country with magnificent edifices and works of art, which have been so sadly neglected by Government that long chapters of shame and disgrace might be written against England for her falling short of both the Romans and the Mahomedans in this respect. "In the smallest territories of the Decapolis," says Mr. Buckingham, "which the Romans founded after their conquest of Palestine, the merest speck of land lying east of the river Jordan and the lake Tiberias, there now remains within a square of less than a hundred miles of length and breadth a greater number of public works, in roads, bridges, aqueducts, temples, theatres, circuses, amphitheatres, baths, and hippodromes, than the English would leave behind them in all India, a territory of one thousand five hundred miles in length and breadth, if they were to quit it tomorrow; and even the Hindoo and Mahomedan rulers of India, their immediate predecessors, have left remains of their great works of this description in roads, bridges, canals, &c., which might well put England to shame." In fact, one never

misses being struck with the difference between the approach to Delhi and Agra, even in their present state of neglect and decay, and that to Calcutta, after its having been for fully a century the capital of British India, with its pretentious title as the "City of Palaces," and holding within its precincts the most opulent of both classes, European and Native. In the former, the traveller sees, a great distance from the imperial cities, the ruins of palaces, gardens, fountains, tanks, turrets, mosques, *et quidquid tantæ premittitur ubi*, whilst the latter presents that utter artistic nudity, at even the short distance of four or five miles, which indicates a place of no greater importance than a common country-town! The settlement of wealthy Saxon landholders in India will materially alter this dreariness of the country, and relieve the Government from the expense, which they are now obliged to defray, of the works of public utility, as lords paramount of the soil; and their example of the zeal for improvement will interest the Native gentry of wealth and intelligence in works of art and decoration. And if anything else were wanting to enforce the necessity of colonisation upon our Government besides all these tangible benefits to them-

selves, it is supplied by history, both of ancient Rome and of the Mahomedans in this country. "Wheresoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits." So said his own historian;* and it was this policy more than any other that secured such extensive conquests to Rome for so long a period of history, notwithstanding the seeds of dissolution and weakness implanted in her constitution even from the very first flash of victory. And the fact should never be overlooked, that the Mahomedans, besides the immense number that settled on the plains of India on each of their three grand eruptions, received continual accessions to their strength by Mussulman emigration from different directions, which enabled them to preserve their empire for six long centuries against the entire mass of their Hindoo subjects.

To Young India, the presence of the Saxon settlers will be of immense benefit. We have pointed out, in some places roughly and contemptuously, in others mildly and with a mournful spirit, all the failings and shortcomings to be seen in their course and conduct, and traced them, perhaps with too great a national love

* Seneca.

and partiality, to the utter want of free intercourse and advice from Englishmen, which the colonisation we advocate must necessarily engender. Besides, the influence and independence of the settlers will remove all those little anomalies in legislation, and petty meannesses, which at present damp and cramp the energy and talents of the best breed of the aborigines, by excluding them from places of trust and emolument, on no other plea than that they are but the members of a subject race. Indeed, it requires no demonstration to prove that the unjust and shortsighted exclusion from the medical service that the Home Government have only recently passed against the dumb millions of India could never have even been broached out in serious reality; for if it had, the audacious minister would instantly have been silenced by the hissings of contemptuous ridicule, had there been a sufficient number of English settlers already in India, commanding consideration, respect, and influence in England and with her ministry. With these evident benefits to themselves and their country, it is to be lamented that Young India should at all seem, as they at present do seem, opposed to British settlement. But one thought

is sufficient to convince them on the question of this settlement. It cannot be gainsaid that, in her present condition, India must be held by more vigorous hands than her own children can command. It is not free; and if it desire to be so, it cannot be: so that a change of masters is the only alternative in store for her. What would be the change? There is no sovereign power in India, or even in the whole of the Asiatic continent, strong enough to govern India after England has left it; so that some European country must again take hold of her in subjection. Spain, Portugal, and Holland, which at one period of their history showed a capacity for foreign acquisition, may not in their present decay and enervation venture into the Indian Ocean. But there are two powers, who are not only strong as well as willing to occupy all possessions England may release from her grasp, but have been actively aiming at this object during the last fifty years of their progress. These, we need not say, are Russia and France—both ambitious and both powerful: one insidious in the extreme, and absolutely despotic; the other desirous of political glory, quick and ardent, but withal capricious and unpractical. Both have learnt the

short measure of government: one would prove crushing and enslaving, without any qualification; while the other, good in design but uncertain in execution, paternal without moral steadfastness and mean without governing sagacity. The policy of England, on the contrary, in spite of its little anomalies, has ever continued to be just; and it has given us laws and privileges as free as the state of our circumstances permits, during the century she has held us in subjection. Freedom of conscience, person, and property, has been granted, such as we never had before, and perhaps never will have after England's sway. Her mission is evidently threefold: *first*, to elevate the people of India in the scale of civilised nations; *secondly*, to develope its rich resources, which now lie neglected; and *thirdly*, to open its commerce to her markets;—and if the two first objects be secured, and there be a surety for the third, she would very willingly leave this country in the hands of its own children. In fact, we lay it down as our firm conviction that England holds India only as a ward: she has to rear it as a trust; and after it has attained to the position of self-management, she will leave it independent, connected only in bonds of mutual assistance

in trade and enlightenment. That is the future in store for us; there are plain signs in the heavens and the earth proclaming it: but we must abide our season, and mar not so fair a harvest by putting in our sickle ere it is ripe.

CHAPTER XI.

A CHAPTER OF NONSENSE, IF IT BE SO UNDERSTOOD. THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND THE EAST.

ENGLAND's capacity for foreign acquisition and colonisation compared with other mighty powers of Europe.—With Italy.—With Spain.—With Portugal.—With Holland.—With France.—The Anglo-Saxon Colony carries away all other Colonies before it.—The finger of God traced in the progress of the British in the East.—The tendency and course of the Empires of the World.—Civilisation not likely to end in America.—It is returning to the land of its birth.—Dr. Arnold's theory of Civilisation examined and refuted.—The prospect of another and mightier Civilisation.—It will commence from India.—Our grounds for so supposing.—Bright future for *Young India*.—His future Religion.

> "IN dreaming of each mighty birth,
> That shall one day be born;
> From marriage of the Western earth,
> With nations of the Morn."

So dreamt the poet. Whether his dreams are actually to be realised, we do not pretend to say; but we see the probability of an epoch dawning upon the destinies of the human race, grander than any yet recorded in history.

This epoch is signalising the English nation, as acquiring the dominion of the world, and will be consummated we hope by an universal British empire. We may seem over-sanguine in our hopes; but we have in enforcing conviction only to ask for a review of political history, and comparison of other countries of Europe with England in the capacity they have shown some time or other to govern distant dominions, or aptitude for colonisation. Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and Russia pass under review in this place. Italy, though her Rome in ancient times established numerous military colonies, has never in modern history occupied a significant page in political history or colonising adventures. It seems as if all her capacity for distant acquisitions was exhausted in the ascendency of Rome in the ancient world. Spain and Portugal set out on their career together; and while the one voyaged to the West, the other took her course to the East. Spain discovered savage countries, and, in the unequal strife between civilisation and barbarism, conquered, and acquired exhaustless wealth, in natural mines and streams of gold, in the New World. But in the triumphs over the rude Americans, she had that easy access to wealth

which takes away the stimulus of activity, and undermines the constitution; and Spain, sunk in wealth and luxury, forfeited that power, which, when duly sustained, would have secured to her the lead of empires. Portugal, running her course, acquired dominions in the East; but she lacked a capacity of sustenance, and early succumbed to a superior power from the insignificance of her means, and possibly also the illiberalism of her policy. Holland succeeded in the line. She was close upon Portugal; but her colonies were limited in extent, and she had gained but little experience in governing affairs from her comparative nonage as a political state, separated from the guidance of Spain. Even now, she seems to have gained little or no improvement; and Java, her only possession of importance, does not cover the cost of its tenure under her management! France comes next; but her possessions in the East were early relinquished, with heavy loss to the state; and Algeria is yet but an experiment in her hands. France has martial character; but, despite that, she has, we believe, failed, undoubtedly from a want of constitutional aptitude, to derive any marked advantage from her distant acquisitions. Russia

stands last; but it is a vast tract of unarable region, and is only an extensive military empire, ruinous to the interests of the people. We might include America in the review; but we find her unambitious of political influence, and her present troubles, even after they are accommodated, will throw her a century behind the age. England seems to be the only country which has consolidated herself by distant acquisitions; and though a large gap appears in her colonial history in the severance of her American possessions, she has proved her colonising power yet unimpaired, unlike that of Spain—the only country that created vast empires like England, and has, like England, lost most largely,—by since working out the site of mighty empires on the surface of the globe. It was about a century after an enterprising captain in the service of Spain coasted the eastern shores of America, and passed through the straits called after him, Magellan, that the English settled in America, and commenced that career of colonial empire which is destined to spread a cordon of nations over the surface of the globe, professing English descent, language, institutions, and, let us hope, feelings. Since then, the stream of emigration has flowed east-

ward to the vast continent of Australia and the islands of the Pacific. And wherever the Anglo-Saxons have settled in a colony, they have absorbed into themselves all comers of different nations; and the fact that all emigrations from France, Germany, Italy, and Austria have been carried away before the English, without leaving a single trace of their origin, distinctly indicates that the English nation is destined to create an universal empire on the surface of the globe. Already both sides of the Pacific are bounded by the empires of this dominant race—America, and Australia and New Zealand; while northward of the Indian Ocean lies the vast peninsula of British India. It seems as if it were that Providence has fixed the fate of the world to pass into English hands; and the very efforts made to keep Indian conquests within prescribed limits are constantly frustrating their object. Had England had her own way, her possessions in the East would not have been greater than a few commercial factories on the eastern and western coasts of India; but she has always had her greatness thrust on her, and the very solicitude to keep the empire within certain limits excited the audacity of imbecile princes, and led

to the annexation of their dominions, and the sovereignty of the entire peninsula of India. And had not the golden-footed sovereign of Burmah invaded Assam, and driven English subjects into captivity, boastfully threatening to take Calcutta, it is reasonable to believe that England would yet have remained confined within the natural limits of India. But she had her honour to vindicate; and the moment her armies crossed the mountain ranges into countries which stretched away to the Chinese Sea and the Pacific, she ventured upon a future, which, as it now gradually unfolds itself, seems to be full of intense interest to the future destinies of the world; for we lay it down as an axiomatic truth, that a power like hers, in spite of its reluctance, must advance, in a continent like Asia, till it reaches either high mountains or broad seas—till it beats, on the one side, against the base of the Chinese hills, and flows on the other into the waters of the Levant. Providence has decreed it so, and man cannot avert that decree; and the time is coming, when the entire continent of Asia, being brought to subjection by the Anglo-Saxon race, they of Europe and they of Asia will meet by that extensive plain whence they first set out in

opposite directions to seek their respective homes. Let us hope that when that day comes, the common origin of mankind will be tangibly felt, and all nations, instead of fighting and wasting each other, as now, will learn to love each other as children of the same parents. How truly spoke, then, the first historian of the world—"God shall increase Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." Until now, this prophecy has not been fully accomplished, for the Shemites or the Asiatic race enjoyed for a long time the possession of the largest kingdoms of the world; and the march of empire and civilisation has hitherto been from East to West*—from the palace of Persepolis and the plains of Shinar to the isles of Greece, from the isles of Greece to the hills of Rome, from the hills of Rome to the fastnesses of Spain, from the fastnesses of Spain to the shores of Britain, and from the shores of Britain to the wilds of America. The progress to empire and civilisation has thus steadily been in one direction; and in this direction it has now reached America. But is this progress destined

* This has been attempted to be proved in a Prize Essay, by the writer of these pages, at the Elphinstone College, not yet published—"Westward the Tide of Empire rolls its sway."

to continue, or is the tide of civilisation to be at length arrested by the foot of the Rocky Mountains? No; there is nothing to show that the world is stagnant, and no signs in the heavens that the human race is retrograding. Four thousand years are now drawing to a close, and we stand on the verge of a great revolution of the world; the sons of Japhet are about now to dwell literally, and not figuratively, as of yore, in the tents of Shem; the *audax Japeti genus* setting forth not merely to hold by conquest and temporary tenure, but dwell by permanent colonies in the regions of the East. Civilisation is returning to the land of its birth, and another day and another race will soon commence to dawn upon the destinies of the human species. The Romans conquered by fire and sword; they gave peace only by establishing a solitude—*Ubi solitudinem fecerunt pacem appelant;** and they preserved their extensive conquests by extensive colonies. But England comes out to the East with the olive, and gives peace by order and civilisation. And if she desires to keep up her extensive acquisitions, she must also establish colonies, differing no doubt in principle as much in their

* Tacitus.

mode of permanent tenure as in that of their acquisition. "Japhet shall dwell in the tents of Shem"; so said the prophecy. As yet he has not dwelt in the full significance of the sentence; but it will be fully verified when the English nation penetrates the regions of the descendants of Shem, not with the sword of the conqueror, to enslave, but with peace and knowledge, befriending and improving the people of the East as colonists; and the emigrants amalgamating* with the young generation of India, give birth to a progeny of race destined to develope another phase of civilisation, exceeding the wonders of Modern Europe as much as it has advanced over the ancient world. We may be voted visionary in our reflections: but views such as these arise unbidden in this place; and those who persuade themselves to laugh have only to look to the career of the Parsee in Western and of the Baboo in Eastern India. There is in reality no great difference between the two; and though the one has the ink-black skin,

* When English colonies will be established in India and other parts of the East, it is impossible to conceive that a mixture of the two races will not take place. They may remain separate for a time—for even a very long time,—but in the end, as the aborigines improve, the colonists will of themselves amalgamate with them.

while the other is rather olive-coloured in complexion, if not yet fairer, both are one in spirit —both have shown a vigorous constitution to improve—both are radicals and not conservatives. Both live in changes: "Overturn! overturn! overturn!" has already become their watchword; and abhorring stagnation, both show the strongest passion for novelty. Both have become Anglicised already; and if they go on in their career of progress some time more—it may be long,—they may no doubt develope in time a new phase of civilisation as yet unknown to the world. Perhaps this consummation may come about *with* or *without* the element of English amalgamation—we cannot speak dogmatically on this point; though there is a greater probability of the first condition working itself upon the destinies of the world than the second; and a nation, hybrid in its composition, half English, half Hindoo, may spring up at a date as distant, it must be, from us as that of the hybrid formation of modern European nations was from the Romans in the full parade of their pomp and glory, believing in theism, pantheism or Christianity as the polestar of their faith, we care not which and we need not calculate which, so long as the pro-

bability is as at present as much for the one as for either of the other two.

Of all the problems that have engaged the attention of the philosopher from the time of Socrates, who is said to have "brought down philosophy from heaven," to the present day, when Mr. Buckle lately wrote his "History of Civilisation in England," the most difficult and the all-incomprehensible problem has been that of civilisation. We all know what it is not; but he is a bold man indeed who ventures to say what it is, and define the term. So simple as to be a household word of daily utterance with the unthinking and the ignorant, yet so difficult and abstruse as to defy the comprehension of the acutest philosophic mind, men have all along shirked the necessity of either defining it or measuring its amount, and thought and written only on its *tendency*, with much cleverness and labour. Even this mean success has been, properly speaking, of a modern date; not earlier, certainly, if we take a strict view of the subject, than the date of the publication of the celebrated treatise—*Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe*—by Guizot, though several meagre attempts, some of which are, indeed, as great and clever as Guizot's expositions, were suc-

cessfully made long anterior, to cut and analyse this chosen bearing of the abstruse problem. Here philosophers and thinkers have, with their characteristic propensity to disagree and pull down each other,* differed with each other; and the exponent of one class, the highly talented Dr. Arnold, who was cut short in the prime of his useful career by intense hard labour, in the inaugural lecture which he delivered in 1841 to the students of the University of Oxford, expressed, with a specious argument, that all the elements of civilisation are now exhausted, *i. e.*, in other words, we are living, as the Hindoo Brahmins say, in the latest epoch of the world's existence; and for the future, if there awaits aught for the sons of Adam, it is but decay and annihilation. He conceived that the Greek and Roman element required to be modified with that of the German to perfect it to its latest stage; but that being already effected, there is now no modification awaiting to affect the destinies of the human species on the globe; and with this conviction in his mind, he propounds in an honest yet much diffident spirit, his new-carved theory:

* Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker*.

"Here then we have, if we may so speak, the ancient world still existing, but with a new element added, the element of our English race. And that this element is an important one, cannot be doubted for an instant. Our English race is the German race; for though our Norman fathers had learnt to speak a stranger's language, yet in blood, as we know, they were Saxon brethren, both alike belonging to the Teutonic or German stock. Now the importance of this stock is plain from this, that its intermixture with the Celtic and Roman races at the fall of the western empire has changed the whole face of Europe. It is doubly remarkable, because the other elements of modern history are derived from the ancient world. If we consider the Roman empire in the fourth century of the Christian æra, we shall find in it Christianity, we shall find in it all the intellectual treasures of Greece, all the social and political wisdom of Rome. What was not there, was simply the German race, and the peculiar qualities which characterise it. This one addition was of such power, that it changed the character of the whole mass. The peculiar stamp of the middle ages is undoubtedly German; the change manifested in

the last three centuries has been owing to the revival of the older elements with greater power, so that the German element has been less manifestly predominant. But the element still preserves its force, and is felt for good and for evil in almost every country of the civilised world.

"We will pause for a moment to observe over how large a portion of the earth this influence is now extended. It affects more or less the whole west of Europe, from the head of the Gulf of Bothnia to the most southern promontory of Sicily, from the Oder and the Adriatic to the Hebrides and to Lisbon. It is true that the language spoken over a large portion of this space is not predominantly German; but even in France, and Italy, and Spain, the influence of the Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, while it has colored even the language, has in blood, in institutions, left its mark legibly and indelibly. Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland for the most part, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and our own Islands, are all in language, in blood, and in institutions, German most decidedly. But all South America is peopled with Spaniards and Portuguese, all North America and all

Australia with Englishmen. I say nothing of the prospects and influence of the German race in Africa and in India; it is enough to say that half of Europe, and all America and Australia, are German, more or less completely, in race, in language, or in institutions, or in all.

"Modern history, then, differs from ancient history in this, that while it preserves the elements of ancient history undestroyed, it has added others to them; and these, as we have seen, elements of no common power. But the German race is not the only one which has been thus added: the Sclavonic race is another new element, which has overrun the east of Europe, as the German has overrun the west; and when we consider that the Sclavonic race wields the mighty empire of Russia, we may believe that its future influence on the condition of Europe and of the world may be far greater than that which it exercises now.

"This leads us to a view of modern history which cannot indeed be confidently relied on, but which still impresses the mind with an imagination, if not with a conviction, of its reality. I mean, that modern history appears to be not only *a* step in advance of ancient history, but *the* last step; it appears to bear

marks of the fulness of time, as if there would be no future history beyond it. For the last eighteen hundred years, Greece has fed the human intellect. Rome, taught by Greece, and improving upon her teacher, has been the source of law, and government, and social civilisation; and what neither Greece nor Rome could furnish, the perfection of moral and spiritual truth, has been given by Christianity. The changes which have been wrought have arisen out of the reception of these elements by new races; races endowed with such force of character that what was old in itself, when exhibited in them, seemed to become something new. But races so gifted are, and have been from the beginning of the world, few in number: the mass of mankind have no such power; they either receive the impression of foreign elements so completely that their own individual character is absorbed, and they take their whole being from without; or, being incapable of taking in higher elements, they dwindle away when brought into the presence of a more powerful life, and become at last extinct altogether. Now, looking anxiously round the world for any new races which may receive the seed (so to speak) of our present history into

a kindly yet a vigorous soil, and may reproduce it, the same, and yet new, for a future period, we know not where such are to be found: some appear exhausted, others incapable, and yet the surface of the whole globe is known to us. The Roman colonies along the banks of the Rhine and Danube looked out on the country beyond those rivers as we look up at the stars, and actually see with our eyes a world of which we know nothing. The Romans knew that there was a vast portion of earth which they did not know; how vast it might be, was a part of its mysteries. But to us all is explored: imagination can hope for no new Atlantic island to realise the vision of Plato's Critias; no new continent peopled by youthful races, the destined restorers of our worn-out generations. Everywhere the search has been made, and the report has been received; we have the full amount of earth's resources before us, and they seem inadequate to supply life for a third period of human history."

This has been the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Arnold from his mature study of history; for no one well acquainted with his learning and intense study in the department of knowledge will dare deny him this claim; and the grounds

which suggested themselves to his mind to raise the superstructure of a clever conclusion are obvious and worth our consideration. It was proved before him, and has now satisfactorily been confirmed, that some races of our species have occupied, and some others do still occupy, portions of our habitable globe only as temporary occupants, destined for certain annihilation before the march of other races of more commanding energies and a higher development of humanity. It is one of the ordinations of nature, that every race on earth must either imitate and civilise, or yield to decay and extinction: those who have the capacity to ape, as well as the physical hardihood to bear well, are destined to the happier lot of duration and progress; but others invariably die out, whenever brought in juxtaposition with what Lord Erskine has epigrammatically called "the knavery and strength of civilisation," some from physical debility, some from moral turpitude, and some from utter incapacity to improve. Not to go deep into the abstruse subject of ethnography, to tire the popular reader unnecessarily, we have the unmistakeable proofs of several of the most well-known and well-spread nations of antiquity completely swept away in

the progress of time; some even of the New World are now no more to be traced, and some others are rapidly decaying in our own age and generation. The Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and the widely-spread Allophylian tribes of Europe, exist only in the history of antiquity; the Mammoth and the Megatherium have left no trace in the course only of some decades past; while the Mohawk, the Iroquois, the Red Indian, and the Carribbean and the Papuan tribes, are being numbered in our own days with the things that were. The resistance to withstand the strength of civilisation from the North American Indians has no doubt been most protracted, but their ultimate extinction is a matter of certainty, and has most confidently been pronounced by a late observer* of great authority and prescience:—

"These are great evils; and it must be added that they appear to be irremediable. I believe that the Indian nations of North America are doomed to perish; and that whenever the European shall be established on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, that race of men will be no more. The Indian had only the two alternatives of war and civilisation; in

* M. de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.

other words, they must either have destroyed the Europeans, or become their equals. . . . From whichever side we contemplate the destinies of the aborigines of North America, their calamities appear to be irremediable: if they continue barbarous, they are forced to retire; if they attempt to civilise their manners, the contact of a more civilised community subjects them to oppression and destitution."

Facts like these naturally suggested reflections and references to a mind like Dr. Arnold's. He had read deeply in history; but as the greatest minds seem capable of achieving the greatest wonders, but yet fail in discerning rightly the trifling and the obvious, he missed the most superficial observation of the origin and the history of the two civilisations that he elaborately meditated upon, and took it into his mind that a new phase of civilisation would necessarily require the element of a new race rising into enlightenment and importance. With this premise in his mind, he stood up to examine the different portions of the globe, to see whether there was any new race discovered, with the element of a stern nationality and the tendency of a rise; but travellers from every quarter brought to him the despairing informa-

tion that every part of the earth had been searched, and that all the newly found races were pitiably weak, and have the alternative of being in time either totally extinguished or absorbed into the European religion, manners, language, and institutions, without any capacity to originate, naturalise, or improve. There he stopped, and darted upon the theory of Brahminism, that we are living in the latest stage of civilisation—in the *Kali Yog*, if we speak in the language of the Indian Brahmin,—though he with characteristic cunning attempts his makeshift from unworthy despondency, by fixing for his *Yog* a period of 432,000 years, out of which he calculates only 5,000 years as already elapsed; thus making the commencement of his last age surprisingly approximating with the Mosaic date of creation. If in these 5,000 years three civilisations—the Hindoo, Greek, and modern European—have run their course, surely he does not calculate, though he may profess it to the simpleton world, that with 427,000 years that have yet to elapse, mankind will not have to behold yet mightier changes and higher wonders than in the past three golden ages. Much less, then, should an European doctor despond in his prospects of the future, which

the very conception of the progress of the present forbids. We may doubt the nearness of our glorious consummation; but when the tendency of our course has been made clear to us; when the signs of the times have been read and truly interpreted, when progress has been found compatible with age and the human species, when one order has the power to produce another of mightier consequences, and elements amalgamate to give rise to a superior mixture, and when exhaustion has been unerringly discovered to be perfectly incompatible with Nature and her workings; we may then assuredly hope, under conditions as yet wholly recondite, or but partially discerned, for a time when a nobler society shall spring up, and a nobler order of thought adorn, and more perfect achievements distinguish, the advanced age of the world, peopled only by

> "Cheerful creatures, whose most sinful deeds
> Are but the overbeating of the heart,
> And flow of too much happiness."

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND THE EAST CONTINUED.

Dr. Arnold's view of History not wholly desponding.—Guizot's just discernment of History.—The grounds of Dr. Arnold's theory.—His opponents.—Mr. Greg in England, and the Author of "Lectures on Man" in America.—Their advocacy of Negro civilisation.—Their errors not essentially differing from Dr. Arnold.—Exposed on an historical survey. —Twofold tendency of Arabian Civilisation.—Greek, Roman, and Modern European Civilisation Arian in origin.— Celts and Teutons of Europe.—Their stream of Emigration from Asia.—Arians never found as a fishing or hunting tribe.—Distinction between Arabian or Mogul progress and that of the Arian nations.—Freedom only enjoyed by the Arians.—A glorious page always to be found in the history of the Arian nations.—Capability of degeneracy among the Arians.—The superior prerogative of the Arians even in the lowest state of civilisation.—Supposed influence of the climate insufficient to account for the intellectual and moral differences among races.—Influences of Government and religion also insufficient on this score.—Individual exceptions always to be found among the Arian tribes and Negro races.—Third ground of our theory.—The origin of all differences amongst the Arians and other races, especially the Negro, to be traced in the unfathomable plan of Providence. —Civilisation has been running Westward during the last three thousand years.—It is now in the extreme West of the

world.—In the usual tendency it must hence come Eastward.—India is the only country to receive it.—Characteristics of modern civilisation.—Anomalies of modern civilisation.—Can the present be the latest stage of human destiny?—Three principal causes of our social anomalies.—Supposition of the present exhaustion of all human capability insufficient to disprove future progress.—How every science and art may be considerably advanced without supposing our capability being at all increased, or the force and scope of the action of our mind enlarged.—We are not chimerical in our speculations.—Conclusion.

We cannot with too great humility dissent from a learned and amiable author like Dr. Arnold in his views stated at the close of our last chapter; but knowing as we do that some exalted minds have already differed from him, we feel less constraint in our protest than we otherwise should. Our esteem and admiration of the head master of Rugby school, the preacher of the "Christian Course and Character," the editor of the best edition of Thucydides, and the author of the most valuable "Introductory Lectures on Modern History," and of unrivalled fragments of a "History of Rome," have always not only been great but unbounded; and we do admit, that for an Indian youth barely out of his teens, and just fresh from his even incomplete studies, to comment upon the views of such a learned English author would

argue the most contemptible presumption and vanity, were he not to submit his remarks in moderation, caution, and humility. That we protest against Dr. Arnold in no spirit of idle paradox, but on sincere conviction, the reader will indulgently allow, even if we have failed to prove it to him from want of a matured judgment and adroitness of argumentation. Dr. Arnold himself did not confidently set forth his views; his faith in history has not been, though staggering, yet decidedly of a despairing character, and in the same inaugural lecture that we have noticed before, a little further on we find the following hopeful longings:—

"I am well aware that to state this as a matter of positive belief would be the extreme of presumption; there may be nations reserved hereafter for great purposes of God's providence, whose fitness for their appointed work will not betray itself till the work and the time for doing it be come. There was a period perhaps when the ancestors of the Athenians were to be no otherwise distinguished from their barbarian neighbours than by some finer taste in the decorations of their arms, and something of a loftier spirit in the songs which told of the exploits of their warriors; and when Aristotle

heard that Rome had been taken by the Gauls, he knew not that its total destruction would have been a greater loss to mankind than the recent overthrow of Veii. But without any presumptuous confidence, if there be any signs, however uncertain, that we are living in the latest period of the world's history, that no other races remain behind to perform what we have neglected, or to restore what we have ruined, then indeed the interest of modern history does become intense, and the importance of not wasting the time still left to us may well be called incalculable. When an army's last reserve has been brought into action, every single soldier knows that he must do his duty to the utmost: that if he cannot win the battle now, he must lose it. So, if our existing nations are the last reserve of the world, its fate may be said to be in their hands—God's work on earth will be left undone if they do not do it.

"But our future course must be hesitating or mistaken, if we do not know what course has brought us to the point where we are at present. Otherwise, the simple fact that after so many years of trial the world has made no greater progress than it has, must impress

our minds injuriously; either making us despair of doing what our fathers have not done, or, if we do not despair, then it may make us unreasonably presumptuous, as if we could do more than had been done by other generations, because we were wiser than they, or better. But history forbids despair, without authorising vanity."

History no doubt forbids despair; and the march of events in the field of the world has always been slow and tardy. Providence is not impatient and hasty in His workings, like man; He has, unlike us, eternity before Him, and the Spirit that has an eternity to work out His ends need not be economical of time, after our manner. Guizot, the shrewdest historian of our times, has justly discerned the instinct of Providence, when he infers "La marche de la Providence,* n'est pas assujétie à d'étroites limites; elle ne s'inquiète pas de tirer aujourd'hui la conséquence du principe qu'elle a posé hier; elle la tirera dans des siècles, quand l'heure sera venue; et pour raisonner lentement selon nous, sa logique n'est pas moins sûre. La Providence a ses aises dans le temps; elle y

* *Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe*, p. 23.

marche en quelque sorte comme les Dieux d'Homère dans l'espace ; elle fait un pas, et des siècles se trouvent écoulés. Que de temps, que d'événemens avant que la régéneration de l'homme moral par le Christianisme ait exercé, sur la régéneration de l'état social, sa grande et légitime influence !"

Convinced of the truth of these observations, some authors have been led away to believe that in her slow and patient working, nature will necessarily elevate the races that now seem the most abject and savage ; that she has appointed a turn for every member of the great families of mankind, and in this just dispensation having elevated the Hindoo, Persian, and other members of the great Caucasian race in their turns, and given power and prominency to the Syrians, Phœnicians, Arabs, and the Shemites in general, at one period or other of the world's history, she has now only to bestow her care upon the Negro race, which has yet been lowest in the scale of nations. Every tribe has performed its part nobly in the great drama of mankind's existence, but the African tribes have yet supplied only a helotry to the more commanding nations; and if there awaits any change for our world to witness, it shall there-

fore be in the rise and happiness of these enslaved races; and their peculiar virtues of amiableness and content have supplied a specious argument to our Negro prophets, who are prominently represented by Mr. Greg in England, and the intelligent author of "Lectures on Man" in America. Mr. Greg, in his Review of Dr. Arnold's Lectures, says—

"We are, however, disposed to think, that there does exist a new race not yet brought within the arena of civilisation—a stranger and an outcast from the great commonality of nations,—known to us, no doubt, and in contact with us, as the barbarians were known at Rome in contact with the Roman empire, but not yet brought to bear upon the European elements of character, under relations which admit of its exercising its proper and allotted influence;—we mean the African race. The suggestion will startle those who have been accustomed to regard the Africans as savages, and will disgust those who have always considered them as beasts of burden; but if they will grant us a few moments of patient attention, we will explain, as briefly as we can, both our opinion, and the considerations on which we ground it. We may be

in error; in differing from Dr. Arnold it is probable we are; but if we are right in our anticipations, thus much is certain—that the future contains within it greater moral changes than any developed in the past; since the African race differs far more in all its elements of character from the European, than the Teuton did either from the Roman or the Greek.

"But it is from the peculiar moral qualities of the Negro that we anticipate the principal modifications of the future aspect of human civilisation. In these the African and the Caucasian race seem to be radically and essentially distinct. The one character seems to be, as it were, the complement and counterpart of the other. The European is vehement, energetic, proud, tenacious, and revengeful; the African is docile, gentle, humble, grateful, and commonly forgiving. The one is ambitious, and easily aroused; the other meek, easily contented, and easily subdued. The one is to the other as the willow to the oak. The European character appears to be the soil best fitted for the growth of the hardy and active virtues hallowed by pagan morality; the African character to be more especially adapted for developing the mild

and passive excellencies which the gentle spirit of Christianity delights to honour. * * *

"Yet these (peace, charity, and humility) are the virtues which our religion teaches us to strive and to honour, as the last and best attainments of moral excellence. How difficult they are to us, the history of eighteen centuries has shown. The spirit of Christianity is at variance with the whole tone and elements of the European character;—it is in unison with many of the innate qualities of the African race. To us it is of the most difficult attainment, and the term 'self-crucifixion' is hardly too strong for the effort it requires; to them it is comparatively natural and easy.

"Now the European character has performed its part nobly in the great drama of mankind's existence. What intellectual energy could do it has done, and is still doing: but, for the general triumph of the gentler virtues, the infusion of new blood seems to be required. The spirit of Christianity, as we have already observed, is out of harmony with the prevailing character of the Caucasian race. That such a religion should have sprung up and taken root among them, is one of the most singular facts of the world's history. It contradict-

ed all their tastes and feelings. It succeeded, it made progress, because it approved itself to their understanding, and to their higher spiritual aspirations, though not to their natural sympathies; and accordingly, we find that among them it has never appeared in its own aspect, or worn its native garb. It has taken the colour of the tree on which it grew. It has assumed the character, and been compelled to patronise the vices, of the people who embraced it. It has been pressed into the service of a hostile power. Among the vehement and fiery Europeans, it has been a religion of pride and violence, not of gentleness and humility. It has been made to countenance bloodshed, to pamper pride, to exasperate animosity, to feed and foster all the harsh and baneful passions of humanity. But, transplanted among the African race, it may possibly find a more congenial soil, and bring forth fruits less foreign to its native character. And we are disposed to hope, and to think, that the Africans, when brought fairly in juxtaposition with European and with Christian knowledge, may, in the course of generations, gradually attain that peculiar modification of civilisation—hitherto a distant and a hopeless vision,—when what

is now the exception shall become the rule; when peace, gentleness, and good-will shall be virtues of general diffusion; when 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'; when 'they shall not hurt nor destroy' throughout the whole earth; when 'they shall sit every man under his vine and his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid'; when (since human imperfection forbids the prospect of unfailing virtue), if vices there must be, they will be the vices of gentle frailty, not of fiery passions."

The author of the "Lectures on Man," delivered at Cincinnati in 1839, has the same views with Mr. Greg, who, in his clever article in the *Westminster Review*, has attempted to strengthen himself by a quotation therefrom. Indeed, the views of both these writers are so very nearly alike on the prospects of the future, and the exposition of the general character of the Negro, that one seems to have, as it were, only paraphrased the other; and the reader has, with a view to satisfy himself on this point, only to compare the following quotation from the American writer on the prospects of the rise of the Negro race with the straightfor-

ward and vehement advocacy of the English Reviewer given before :—

" When the epoch of the civilisation of the Negro family arrives in the lapse of ages, they will display in their native land some very peculiar and interesting traits of character, of which we, a distinct branch of the human family, can at present form no conception. It will be—indeed it must be—a civilisation of a peculiar stamp; perhaps, we may venture to conjecture, not so much distinguished by art, as by a certain beautiful nature; not so marked or adorned by science as exalted and refined by a new and lovely theology; a reflection of the light of heaven more perfect and endearing than that which the intellects of the Caucasian race have ever yet exhibited. There is more of the child, more of unsophisticated nature, in the Negro race than in the European. * * *

" The peninsula of Africa is the home of the Negro, and the appropriate and distinct seat of his future glory and civilisation—a civilisation which we will not fear to predict will be as distinct in all its features from that of all other races, as his complexion and natural temperament and genius are different. If the Caucasian race is destined, as would appear

from the precocity of their genius, and their natural quickness and extreme aptitude for the arts, to reflect the lustre of the divine wisdom, or, to speak more properly, of the divine science, shall we envy the Negro, if a later, but far nobler civilisation await him—to return the splendour of the divine attributes of mercy and benevolence in the practice and exhibition of the milder and gentler virtues?.....The sweeter graces of the Christian religion appear almost too tropical and tender plants to grow in the soil of the Caucasian mind; they require a character of human nature, of which you can see the rude lineaments in Ethiopians, to be implanted in, and grow naturally and beautifully withal."

This theory of Negro rise and civilisation has been inferred just from the same erroneous view of Dr. Arnold that a new phase of civilisation necessarily requires a new race to rise into significance and prominency. But if we will consider the three or four forms of civilisation that have run their course over us, we will find that there has been only one great family of nations that has been uppermost all along in the world—viz. the Arian. The Shemites did rise during the Middle Ages, first under the

Arabs, and then under the half-Mongolic Turks;* but granting to the Shemites a distinct place in the physical history of man, though we have philological doubts which it would be absurd to discuss here, their bearing on the subject under consideration is but insignificant; for their civilisation rose, like Jonah's gourd, in one night, and fell in the next. Rising in the Middle Ages, the Shemites fell in the Middle Ages, and left no trace on the history of the world, except perhaps in the impetus given to the enterprise of Europe, and the degeneration of Asia. That it was not solid and refining, is evident from the fact that it tended to produce entirely opposite results; that while it awakened the intellect of Europe, it enslaved Asia to a thraldom and ruin from

* We take the Turks here; and instead of classifying them with the Mongols, which, no doubt, is a perfectly just division, we put them in the class of the Arabs not to unnecessarily increase the number of the forms of civilisation. The Turks had their day of prominency in the history of the world; and among the Arabs and the Persians they are looked upon as a highly civilised nation allied to themselves. There is a proverb in Persian current even to this day—"Zaban zabane Arabi ust, o Pharshi shakker ust, o Turki *koonner* ust, o Hindi neemuck ust, o digar goe goze khar ust": the language of language is the Arabic, Persian is the sugar, Turki is the *ant*, Hindi the salt; the rest, say, ass-brayings!

which, even after a lapse of nearly twelve hundred years, it has not found means to liberate itself, and rise in the scale of nations. The only refining and lasting forms of civilisation have therefore been those of the Greek, Roman, and German, to which, perhaps, we may add that of the ancient Hindoo, which lasted and influenced the world for a considerable period of time, first in its elements finding a place in the Greek through the Egyptian, and last to the present day, though in a much decayed form, in India, Tibet, and other parts of Asia. History looks upon Greece as a colony from the great Arian family, in the emigration thereto of a branch under the name of Hellenes, who in some localities expelled the aboriginal Pelasgi, and in others intermingled with them so as eventually to render all the inhabitants in manners, institutions, and even origin, Hellenic. In Rome, we can trace the same origin; for independently of the tradition which ascribes the founding of Latium and the Latin nation to Æneas, one of the mythic heroes of the Iliad, who, on the destruction of his native city of Troy, had sought refuge in Italy, we have the historic evidence of the early population of Latium consisting of a mixture of Oscans, the

aboriginal inhabitants of this as of other parts of Italy, with the Pelasgians, who had migrated themselves out of Asia to the south-eastern parts of Europe, and after filling Greece, founded settlements in Italy. Both these tribes—the Oscans and the Pelasgi—belonged to the Arian family of mankind. The Roman power lasted for nearly 2,000 years, and its influence is even yet to be perceived in some of the institutions, manners, and laws of modern Europe. The period of Greek independence and power may be reckoned from the era of the first Persian war to the conquest of Macedon, the last independent Greek state destroyed by the Romans, embracing the short duration of little more than 300 years, which necessarily shows it to be rather dishonest on our part to ascribe to the Greeks a distinct place in the history of civilisation, and astutely denying the Arab, as short-lived and evanescent. But it is not from the duration of the independent political power of the Grecian states that we claim a distinct place for them in the history of civilisation; nor do we believe that it is upon it that even their present pre-eminence rests. The patriotism of their soldiers, and the devoted heroism of Thermopylæ and Marathon, have more than

once been emulated elsewhere, without attracting much notice: the political jealousies and squabbles of Athens and Lacedæmon have nothing in them to secure lasting fame; but during the whole period that Rome's fortune was in the ascendant, Greece continued to be the seat of learning and improvement. Athens, enslaved as it was after the rise of Rome, was still the great school of the Roman world, and became the resort of all who were ambitious of gaining distinction, either in knowledge or the arts. Statesmen and orators (and these were convertible terms then) resorted thither to improve themselves in eloquence, philosophers to learn the tenets of the different schools of Grecian philosophy, and artists to study Greek models of excellence in building, statuary, or painting; and the genius, learning, and skill of Greece possess an undying fame, even in the eyes of modern men. Could Arabia show one-fourth this result, we should very readily award to her a place as high as its staunchest advocates may claim for it; but it seems that Providence ordained the Shemites to rise and to fall just instantly, without leaving any trace behind. The Phœnicians and the Syrians shot like the meteor in

olden times, and were gone; the Arabs rose in the faint beginnings of the modern world, and though they supplied the elements of two or three sciences, and though under princes like Haroun al Raschid the seat of the Khaliphat was the resort of learned men from different parts of Asia, and even from Europe, we have only to consider that no trace of their impression has since been found in modern institutions and progress to cast them off from a place in the history of civilisation. With regard to the modern Europeans, ethnographers are all agreed that they are colonies from Asia, and the descendants of the same great family from whom we deduce the origin of the Greeks and the Romans, the Hindoos and the Persians. With regard to these, Dr. Prichard infers, "If we are to enumerate the different nations who are to be considered as ramifications of the Indo-European (*i. e.* the Arian) stock, believing those as the most ancient which are farthest removed from the centre, or from the path of migration, we must begin with the Celtic nations in the west of Europe, including the two branches which are represented in modern times, one by the Irish, Scots, and Maux, and the other by the Welsh and Armoricans, or

Bretons. Next to them, in the north of Europe, is the Germanic family. It consists, according to the conclusion of the latest and most accurate philologists, of two principal divisions; of the Northmen, ancestors of the Icelanders, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, and secondly of the proper Teutonic stock in its three subdivisions, which are the Saxon or the Western German, the Servians or High German, and the Gothic or Eastern clan. The next branch of the Indo-European stock are tribes who speak the dialects of the Old Prussian or Pruthenian language. These dialects are the Lettish, Lithuanian, and the proper Pruthenian, which, of all the languages of Europe, bear by far the nearest resemblance to the original Sanskrit. The people who spoke these dialects had a peculiar mythology, and an ancient and very powerful hierarchy, as famous in the north as were those of the Brahmins and Druids in the east and west. The Slavic or Sclavonic race is a fourth Indo-European family: its two great branches are the Western and Proper Slavic, including the Poles, Bohemians, Ohotrites, and the tribes near the Baltic; secondly, the Eastern branch, comprehending the Russians, the Servians, and

other tribes nearly related to them?" Of the three great tribes thus traced, the Sclaves have always been inferior, while the Celts and the Teutons have mixed themselves almost everywhere, and lost their distinct existence, in some nations, as the British and the Belgic, with a proportionately larger infusion of the German; while in others, as the French, Spanish, and Italian with that of the Celtic blood; so that when we talk now-a-days of either the Celtic or the German tribe, we necessarily allude to a mixture of the two, which, possessing the excellencies of both, the vivacity of temper, the quickness of perception, and the dashing bravery of the one, tempered by the calm judgment, practical bent, and far-seeing enterprise of the other, has been enabled to scatter its colonies over an extensive area of the globe, giving to new-born regions its language, its genius, and its arts. The details of the migration of these two tribes have been investigated with great care and attention; and Dr. Meyer, one of the more modern and enlightened ethnographers, regards the Celtic nation the earlier of the two emigrants, "owing to its migratory habits and instincts, one of the most widely-spread of all the nations of ancient and modern

history, having at various periods covered with its settlements, and perhaps even simultaneously possessed, a space of country extending from the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) to Asia Minor and beyond the Caspian. It seems to me," says Dr. Meyer, "that the Celtic nation transported itself from Asia, and more particularly from Asiatic Scythia, to Europe, and to this country, by two principal routes, which it resumed at different epochs, and thus formed two great streams of migration, flowing, as it were, proceeding through Syria and Egypt, and thence along the northern coast of Africa, reaching Europe at the Pillars of Hercules; and passing on through Spain to Gaul, here divided itself into three branches, the northern of which terminated in Great Britain and Ireland, the southern in Italy, and the eastern, running along the Alps and the Danube, terminated only near the Black Sea, not far from the point where the whole stream is likely to have originated. The other stream, proceeding in a more direct line, reached Europe at its eastern limit, and passing through European Scythia, and from thence partly through Scandinavia, partly along the Baltic, through Prussia and through Northern Germany, reached

this country, and hence to the more western and northern lands across the German Ocean."

It has been already suggested that this great wave of colonisation, not itself the first, was afterwards followed by another, composed of the Germanic tribes. Dr. Prichard considers it most probable that this new influx also came in two streams, one proceeding through the regions to the north of the Caspian, and the other across the Hellespont.

In the ancient world, there is no doubt that the Arian nations were predominant, and we have just traced that the modern European states, which now command the world, are but colonies of the same family of mankind; so that the different forms of civilisation that have run their course from the beginning of the world down to the present day have been Arian in origin; and if we have no ground or right to suppose that the phenomenon that has lasted for a period of upwards of five thousand years will anywise change, we have the conviction that any new phase of civilisation that may be awaiting the future world to witness will necessarily arise from among some one of the branches of the Arian race. To propose, therefore, the Negroes as the future regene-

rators of the world, is to contradict the experience that has been gathering for thousands of generations, and to blindly upset an inference that has been borne out by universal history. The destinies of the world cannot cease to be ruled by the Arian race, and the advocates of Negro civilisation have, if nothing else, only to compare the moral and intellectual differences of the two races to relinquish their advocacy. While all other races of mankind cover more than half the earth's surface, plunged in some quarter or other in a state of utter barbarism, without the higher feelings of humanity or the greater conveniences of advanced society, the Arians have never yet been found so low in their condition anywhere on the surface of the globe; or if so at any period of history, they have so quickly raised themselves from it, that we have no record like that we have of the other races, of their existence as mere hunting or fishing tribes. All the records that we have of this family ascribe to it in all its branches the national advancement of the pastoral state, and the enjoyment of the art of agriculture in its earliest appearance in history; and while we do not see in them the lowest form of barbarism, we may meet in full perfection with

those noble feelings and passions, which have led to the accomplishment of the grandest results of our world's history. In them alone have been found that true bravery and love of liberty that have filled the pages of the historians or the songs of the poets; that superior knowledge and reflection that have subjected the world of matter to the world of mind; that instinct of progress that, progressing with the age, discovers new arts of convenience and decoration, for the assertion of man's lordly position in the world; that feeling of religion and reverence that rises superior with every progress, to lead man "from nature up to nature's God"; and that attribute of intense love and compassion which exerted first on the nearest connections eventually conduces to form a tie of brotherhood in interests and feelings with the other races of the world as they come in contact in their distant acquisitions. Other races of mankind are incapable of these exhibitions; and while the empires of China and Japan, in the present times, and Arabia and Syria in the remote periods, show that they were susceptible of civilisation and of great advancement in the useful and even the elegant arts of life, the fact of the former having continued

nearly stationary for so many centuries, and of the latter having passed away, indicates an inferiority of nature, and a limited capacity, in comparison with the Arian family; and while peace and order mark the progress of Arian nations, unrelenting slaughter, without distinction of condition, age, or sex, and universal destruction, have attended the progress of an Attila, a Genghis, or an Omar and the Khaliphat. Freedom, the primary condition of all advancement, has been enjoyed only by the Arian races; and a feeling of equality in law, which consolidates a nation, and advances the national rights and prosperity of a people, has been found to belong only to one family of mankind. The republics of ancient Greece and Rome, the limited monarchies of Persia and India in their days of renown, and of most of the modern states of Europe, as well as the popular government of the United States of America, bear the fullest testimony to our observation; and it is, we believe, their feeling of equality in law, and their love of freedom, that impart an attraction to the history of the Arian races, and induce such a pleasure in its study, as is never felt in the history of the Chinese, Mongols, or the Negroes. We allow that the Arian family may

not be always superior: it may degenerate, as in the case of the Greeks and Romans, Hindoos and Persians; but the qualities which distinguished the nations in their best days remain visible even in degeneracy in the manifestations of mental or moral vigour. The country where the liberty of the hearth and the freedom of conscience were defended more than once against all odds of an invading host; the country where every individual consecrated his life and best affections to the rigour of his law, and fought for the national rights as if for his life-drops; the country where Homer and Hesiod sung and Demosthenes and Æschines thundered, where Plato, Pythagoras, Zeno, and Aristotle taught, may long be the enslaved dependency of tyrants and foreigners; the senate and the forum, which were trodden by the unshaking feet of Scævola, Scipio, and Cicero, and graced by the fame of a Virgil and Tacitus, may become defiled by parasites and priests, popes and pretenders; the empire which was raised by "the first anointed of the Lord," who was to grant deliverance to the chosen seed, and which was the sphere of the labours of Zoroaster, who taught the faith of a refining and heaven-directed philosophy, may become dismembered, and sink low

under the iron band of fanatic enthusiasts; and the land where genius sprang up, to write with its finger the veneration-inspiring Mahabharut, Ramayana, and the Vedas; and where philosophy rose to a precocious maturity, so as to anticipate some of the grandest achievments of a forthcoming generation of three thousand years later—may lose its spirit, and its strength lapse into a state of enervation and decay: but yet, history never fails to bear a glorious page in the annals of each, even in the worst possible days, and points to the national pluck in some exhibition or other, and to men worthy of the greatest days—to Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio; to Galileo, Gassendi, and Torricelli; to a Raphael, an Angelo, and "the worthy compeers" for the glory of Greece* and Italy; to a list of some three thousand poets, on a par with Pope and

* We claim Greece as well as Italy for all these celebrities; for though born in the latter, the influence of the influx into it of men of learning from the former, at the taking of Constantinople by the Mahomedans, was by no means small in producing this bright galaxy. It is a well known fact, that the learned men who fled from Mahomedan bigotry into the Italian Peninsula were protected and patronised by the illustrious family of the Medici, and betook themselves to the task of the regeneration of the country of their refuge.

Dryden, in the library of Shiraz, with myriads of versifiers like Goldsmith and Johnson; and from among whom not one, but more than one, two or three, as Firdusi, Anvari, Jami, and Hafiz, might compete in excellency with even Shakespeare, the greatest poet of Europe; and novelists before whom, in spite of all our English predilections, we cannot but hold Sir Bulwer Lytton or Sir Walter Scott sink into the insignificance of novices; to Surdass, Tanscin, Rohedass, Kabir, and Kumal, even in days of Mahomedan thraldom, whose genius and harmony have indisputably claimed a superiority which may well rival all the Orpheuses of old, and under the foreign yoke of the British people to a Rammohun and a Tagore, whose knowledge and learning have proved to be in no way unworthy of the country of Menu, Bhuvbhuti, and Kalidass.

The superior prerogatives of the Arian races that we have been considering in their advanced life, as well as in the lowest scale of civilisation, we hold to be the ordination of Providence; and when some venture to find its solution in climate, we have to shake our head in rejection, and show that the Americans are spread from one end of the globe

to the other, and that the Negroes and the Mongols have as many diversities of situation in their quarter of habitation as could be wished for, with marked national inferiority. "The philosophy," says Wilks, in his Historical Sketches, "which refers exclusively to the physical influence of climate, this most remarkable phenomenon of the moral world, is altogether insufficient to satisfy the rational inquirer; the holy spirit of liberty was cherished in Greece and its Syrian colonies by the same sun which warms the gross and ferocious superstition of the Mahomedan zealot: the conquerors of half the world issued from the scorching deserts of Arabia, and obtained some of their earliest triumphs over one of the most gallant nations of Europe (Spain).

"A remnant of the disciples of Zoroaster, flying from Mahomedan persecution, carried with them to the western coast of India the religion, the hardy habits, and athletic forms of the north of Persia; and their posterity may at this day be contemplated in the Parsees of the English settlement at Bombay, with mental and bodily power absolutely unimpaired after a residence of a thousand years in that burning climate. Even the passive

but *ill-understood* character of the Hindoos, exhibiting few and unimportant shades of distinction, whether placed under the snows of Imaus, or the vertical sun of the torrid zone, has, in every part of these diversified climates, been occasionally roused to achievements of valour, and deeds of desperation, not surpassed in the heroic ages of the western world. The reflections naturally arising from these facts are obviously sufficient to extinguish a flimsy and superficial hypothesis, which would measure the human mind by the scale of a Fahrenheit's thermometer."

Some, again, seek to explain this phenomenon of the mental and moral difference in the Arian and other varieties of mankind, as produced by the external influences of education, government, and religion, and they illustrate their solution from the investigation that though the Turks are superior in national vigour to the Russians, they are bowed down by the latter on account of their Government and religion being less favourable to national progress and development. In fact, the unfavourable influence of the Mahomedan religion on national development has been exemplified by M. Fourier in the case of the Arabs; and he believes that

"if the Arabians, like the people of the West, had possessed the inestimable advantage of a religion favourable to the arts and to useful knowledge, they would have cultivated and brought to perfection every branch of philosophy. At the commencement of their extraordinary career, they were ingenious and polished: they made remarkable progress in poetry, architecture, medicine, geometry, natural history, and astronomy; they preserved and transmitted to us many of those immortal works which were destined to aid the revival of learning in Europe. But the Mussulman religion was incompatible with this development of the mind; the Arabs were exposed to the alternative of renouncing their faith, or returning to the ignorance of their ancestors."

That some beneficial or emasculating influence is exerted on the human species by religion, and thence education and government, is too obvious to be doubted in the least degree; but our question relates to the capability of civilisation, and this solution utterly fails to explain the superiority of the Arians over the other races of mankind. All mankind at one period of history were in a state of equal barbarism; and yet the Arians, not all professing

the same religion, but some Christianity, and others deism (as the ancient Persians), some pantheism (as the Hindoos), and others (as the modern Persians) even the Mahomedan religion, have raised themselves at least in an intellectual point of view, if not in social felicity, above all the other races of mankind. So that the explanation afforded by a set of writers of the phenomena of the mental and moral difference in the Arian and other varieties of mankind, as the result of the influence of religion, cannot convince us to belief that the African enjoys an equality of moral and intellectual attributes with the Arians, and requires only a refining and heaven-directed religion for a full development. We cannot, therefore, believe that a glorious destiny awaits the Negro, in the command and improvement of the world.

We have related facts that are deducible from history and ethnography, to argue the poor fate of the Negro. Instead of a rise, we have apprehensions of his existence itself; for he is being already pressed in his native home by the cupidity of the Syro-Arabians and Europeans. Had the climate of the African continent been more favourable than it is, the Europeans would nearly have occupied the

whole tract by this time; but as even nature opposes obstacles, they have colonised the coast stations, and the dark tribes are either falling, or receding into the interior, to be eventually crushed between the opposing aggressions of the Arabs and Europeans. It is in vain to expect that the power and civilisation of Europe can be crushed by the rude force of the Africans. Unite them how we may, the two grandest achievements of modern times, printing and gunpowder, are sufficient to repel the inroad of any barbarism now; and to suppose the Africans to rise in a commanding position in any time is but to ignore their very physical organisation, which allots them a lower position in the scale of nations. And if it savours not too much of the Pharisaic, we would, as an additional ground for our view of the future prospects of the world, appeal to the oft-repeated prophecy—"Japhet shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." Either that this prophecy, which has held good during the last three thousand years, is false, or the Negro—the descendant of Canaan—is destined to remain low, as a servant.

Why or with what object Providence should have created the Negro and other races to

continue so low in their state; and elevated the Arians, to command, and, it may be, ultimately to absorb the others in the advancing tide of their progress, it would be useless for us to conjecture. That such, however, is the plan of Providence, we think admits of no doubt, when we compare the original organisations of the different races, even if we reject their past history. The external influence of climate, country, and soil; of way of life, habits, customs, religion, government, education, &c. are manifestly not sufficient to account for the differences of natural qualifications in the Arian and other races, which at all times, in all countries, and under all circumstances, have presented themselves in a very remarkable manner; and we are very naturally tempted to look deeper for their cause, and seek it in some circumstance other than the adventitious, which, if not more, at least as strongly as the inseparable accident, is interwoven in the original constitution of their organisation, and their ordination in the unfathomable plan of the Supreme Ruler.

But while auguring such a poor fate for the Africans, we do not mean to advocate their slavery, and justify the wretchedness which the

inhumanity of the white races often subjects them to: the prophecy runs no doubt—"He shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant," but it is not said that Canaan shall be his *slave*. Nothing, therefore, will justify the hard dealings of the sons of Japhet, if they use the lash of the slave-driver, or the rack of the executioner, in asserting their ordained superiority over the descendants of Canaan. And we therefore fully admire the philanthropy of the Europeans, and Englishmen in particular, who have fought so heroically for the emancipation of the poor natives of Africa from the slavery of the more fortunate of the human races, and of the travellers and missionaries, who, leaving the comforts and ease of their native home, expose themselves to the rigours of a savage country, under the intense hot sun, to teach to the Negro the doctrines of an ennobling faith, and the conveniences of a civilised life. All that we believe is, that he is endowed with but limited capabilities to rise and improve. To deny him every degree of civilisation is a libel on human nature itself; but to expect that he can be raised by any culture to a pitch of moral and intellectual vigour, so as to command the destinies of the human race, seems to us as

unreasonable as that the hare may command the lion, or the sparrow lord it over the eagle.

It may be that we are wrong in our speculations; but we believe we can plainly discern signs that we are on the verge of a greater and more satisfactory advance in civilisation than has hitherto taken place in the world. The tide of empire and progress has rolled westward for the last three thousand years and more; it has now lain in the extreme west of the world; and finding its course, in its usual tendency, must now, as of necessity, come to the East, if it should roll hitherwards, what other country than India presents the prospect of receiving it? It may be, perhaps it must be, that a peninsula jutting southwards into the sea in Europe commanded and educated the world in the course of her conquests, and, falling in turn into enervation and decay, came up again after a torpid lull of nearly five hundred years, not with the sword, we admit, but with commerce and enlightenment; so a larger peninsula, jutting southwards into a larger ocean in Asia, which was the soil in which all healthful seeds were first sown, to spread the fruits westwards in times of which we have no calculation, after a downfall of as great an interval

of time as its size and its learning exceed those of its European correspondent, should in the future again rise to influence and enlighten. We cannot believe, with Dr. Arnold, that we are on the eve of decay at present, and civilisation is likely to stop at the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Emigration must now take place to Asia, and Young India will supply the element of combination with the Germans to impart a new phase to our present civilisation; and it is only here that England will get the hearty co-operation of the future generations of the whole world—a task to which she is pre-eminently adapted in the ordination of Providence.

The modern civilisation does not seem in any way to be the perfection of man's destination on earth. We can trace in it, no doubt, mightier results than ever arrived at in the world's history, and we have secured to ourselves, by the consummation of the two proudest efforts of our day, printing and gunpowder, the certainty of the present and the prospect of the future, which the more ancient forms of civilisation most evidently lacked. The whole world of matter has been brought under the subjection of mind, and nature, which was once superior,

is now only subservient to human art. At the same time, we do not forget the moral tone that influences our age. But in the midst of the startling amelioration of our material and mental states in modern times, we have also learned to impart expansion to the soul and loftiness to our motives. The feature which distinguishes the present civilisation from that of past centuries, as well as of the ancient world, is the existence of a feeling of liberalism, which, disregarding all external distinctions of rank, profession, wealth, caste, or creed, embraces the whole of the human race in one bond of universal fraternity. The king as well as the subject, the peer as well as the peasant, the master as well as the servant, the rich as well as the poor, the literate as well as the illiterate, the Christian as well as the heathen—one and all are regarded, by the light of the present age, as equally entitled to all the legitimate enjoyments of life, and the rational exercise of liberty. If one asks the distinctive feature of our day, it is this feeling of an universal brotherhood among mankind, without which we in all things resemble, more or less, the people of the ancient world. In fact, all that we see around us in our principal

seats of civilisation existed in a more or less developed state in the great cities of the bygone ages. Politics and social life, courts and councils, crimes and punishments, wars and conquests, revolutions and rebellions, infidelity and religion, luxury and splendour, philosophy and pretension, literature, science, and art—all played their respective parts on the theatre of the ancient world to as great or less an extent as the circumstances then permitted. What was then wanting, or at least was not effectually manifested, or strongly felt, by the people, was the feeling of a universal brotherhood, which binds the different members of the human family in reciprocity of justice, love, and interest. This generous idea, felt in every day's experience, has been the means of raising, at the present day, the mass of the lower people to their due rank in social estimation and political concern. In ancient times, these classes were for the most part either actual slaves or serfs and helots to the upper orders. In the middle ages, whether they existed in freedom or villenge, they were alike looked upon by their superiors as property for their interest, or tools for their use and ambition; and we have reason to believe that in the earlier periods of

modern history there prevailed no better instinct of humanity. It is only in these days that the humanising idea has taken its rise, and sunk so deep and wide, that somehow or other it has been at the bottom of most of the political and social convulsions of the age. This idea assumed a distinct being in the national cry of *Fraternité, liberté, et egalité*, of the first French Revolution, and from that terrible outburst—the milestone of modern enlightenment—down to the most recent insurrectionary and secession movements in Italy and America, even with the terrible Indian mutinies of 1857, all the political and social perturbations that have agitated the civilised world are the results of the working of this master-idea of the age, which, assuming various different forms in religion, politics, or social life, and daily coming in collision with bigotry, despotism, and unnatural social distinctions, has within the last three-quarters of a century nearly undermined the entire fabric of the ancient order of things. We so plainly perceive this, that we challenge reference to a single outburst of this age, however meanly and selfishly contrived, in which the leaders, in order to secure a general sympathy, have not declared, seriously or hypocri-

tically, that they have only been seeking the welfare of their country, and aspiring to the advancement of their fellow-citizens. Everywhere the cry is raised for justice, and the good of mankind; and this is at all times evident, though, in the general jumbling up of the most insane schemes and passions, as well as the most sober reforms and thoughts, of the most disinterested and philanthropic sentiments as well as the most selfish and sinister views in the order of things, as they obtain in this world, it is difficult to distinguish sincerity from hypocrisy, and patriotism from demagogism. The influence of the idea of a universal fraternity of mankind over all the social and political convulsions of our age is so deep-rooted, that it is to be expected that in its usual growth and progress it will completely alter the state of the civilised world, and better the destinies of the human species almost to angelic perfection.

Though this newly awakened sense of humanity—the idea that it is the duty of every individual to improve and ameliorate the condition of the human race—has been widely and universally felt, yet it has not been as widely and universally realised. With all our boast of the enthusiastic love of our fellow-creatures,

the mournful question has often occurred to us —Where are we? The prince, the noble, the merchant, and the burgher have all worked their way up far beyond that of their forefathers, but we fear that the peasant and the artisan are still where they have always been. Food, clothing, and habitation; a God to worship darkly, and a faith to cherish dimly, they had always enjoyed: but have they aught more now? Inquiries are everywhere set on foot, and the information certainly obtained, that though the idea of a general sympathy has been recognised, there has yet been no practical working of the feeling of a common brotherhood with the poor; no earnest and awful conviction that on them, both as the most numerous and the most needy of mankind, the care of the easy and the affluent is to be bestowed; and that for them, wealth, power, and talents are granted by Providence in trust. Yes, we boast; but what have we to show as the result of our civilisation?—"Much advance in natural science, splendid victories over material agencies; glorious achievements in the domain of intellect; but, on the other hand, startling social anomalies; grievous and deep-rooted social maladies; the great mass of our

fellow-creatures still vicious, ignorant, and wretched; the chief objects of being still dim in the distance; wisdom still scanty and undiffused; virtue still difficult; happiness still rare."

Surely this cannot be the latest stage of human destiny! and we naturally look forward to a time when the inhabitants of the European quarter of the world, satisfied only with commerce, and too enlightened as to their own rights to sport with the rights of others, and earnestly feeling the enthusiastic love of their kind, will respect that independence, interest, and feeling in others, which it cannot with justice be said they have hitherto done; when by colonisation and interfusion, their settlements in Asia and Africa, instead of being filled, as now, by the creatures of power, anxious only to amass wealth or purchase honours, will be peopled with industrious men, seeking only a quiet home, comfortable life, and liberal brotherhood with the aboriginal inhabitants; nay we even look forward to a time when in the progressive tide of the Arian nations, the sun will observe in its course only one race of free and enlightened men, conscious only of their unity of origin, in which tyrants and slaves, rich and needy,

priests and dupes, literate and savage, the virtuous and vicious, the earnest and hypocritical, and the like, will no longer exist but in history and upon the stage; and when all mankind, raised to the *summum bonum* of human destiny, will be resigned in faith, and happy in life, such as

> "To them there never came a thought
> That this their inner life was meant to be
> A pleasure-house, where peace unbought
> Should minister to pride or glee.
>
> "Sublimely they endure each ill
> As plain fact, whose right or wrong
> They question not, confiding still
> That it shall last not overlong:
>
> "Willing from first to last to take
> The mysteries of our life as given,
> Leaving this time-worn soul to slake
> Its thirst in an undoubted heaven."

The ultimate goal of human destiny cannot certainly be the present anomalies that strike us so prominently. Two causes have principally contributed to produce them—1*st*, inequality of wealth; and 2*nd*, inequality of education; —which, though it may be absurd as well as dangerous to think of wholly obviating, since they have a natural and necessary existence in the organisation of the world, can yet be con-

siderably modified and softened, to give to all mankind a better destiny and a higher worth. Happily, political economists have already demonstrated that fortunes naturally tend to equality; so that the day will dawn in which, instead of the spectacle of a few idle and profligate men wallowing in the immensity of their riches, and side by side the harrowing scene of the entire mass of population immersed in misery and poverty, there will be the uniform picture of every individual of the human race enjoying a fair share of competency, and thereby unlearning lying, cheating, fighting, and all the ignoble vices of the age we live in. And as material elevation is but the means of mental and moral progress, the entire mass of the human species will, by a happy choice of the subjects as well as of the means of imparting instruction, possibly as yet unknown to our limited enlightenment, be taught all that is necessary for the human comprehension to grasp or the memory to collect.

Of course, we can never imagine that all the mysteries of nature and all the relations of objects with each other, and combinations of ideas, can ever be exhausted by the human mind. Nature is too vast, and her combinations

and workings too subtle, for man to penetrate thoroughly; but it has been imagined, that as man knows more of the objects and ideas in the material and mental world, every age that he advances, he must at length reach that point at which, he having already investigated all as far as his limited capacities allow, further progress will be absolutely impossible. Such an age is the present—when man communicates with a rapidity greater than sound, and travels with the swiftness of the wind, explodes hills and mountains, and keeps the ocean under control, explores every rood of earth, analyses the abstruse faculties of the mind, searches every source of wealth or happiness, and learns to master and compare the different languages in which God confounded the different races, so as to obstruct all undue progress by want of a common medium of communication. The utmost capabilities of man's faculties are herein exhausted, and further progress is unattainable.

Wrong again, ye prophets of despondency! We may not believe that there remains any new faculty of the mind to be developed, and yet every progress is possible. As time advances facts must be multiplied, and instruments of

use improved. A more universal education would impart to a greater number of individuals an elementary knowledge of science and art, and induce in them a taste for particular study. A larger number of individuals than at present betaking themselves to a particular application must necessarily bring to light a larger number of facts; and these may be so generalised and classified by the greater precision of the age, as to be perfectly within the comprehension of the meanest capacity. The increased number of students, and their increased observations and experiments, with the increased precision of instruments and analysis, necessarily inspire the best hopes of progress in every science and art, even though prejudice may absurdly represent some as being all exhausted. "And thus the methods that led to new combinations be exhausted, should their applications to questions, still unresolved, demand exertions greater than the time or the powers of the learned can bestow, more general methods, means more simple, would soon come to their aid, and open a farther career to genius. The energy, the real extent of the human intellect, may remain the same; but the instruments which it can employ will be multiplied and

improved; but the language which fixes and determines the ideas will acquire more precision and compass; and it will not be here, as in the science of mechanics, where to increase the force we must diminish the velocity; on the contrary, the methods by which genius will arrive at the discovery of new truths, augment at once both the force and the rapidity of its operations."

Without conceiving, then, the capabilities of the human mind being at all increased, we can well conceive every possible advance in science and art. Our advance will be the result of greater skill and precision, by means of a more extended practice and better instruments. A smaller portion of ground will, when we are all advanced, be made to yield larger crops than at present; and the danger that Malthus pointed out to the future prospects of the world in the increase of the human species being in the geometrical progression, while that of the productiveness of the earth delaying in the arithmetical, completely obviated; a less expense of consumption will suffice to procure a greater quantity of enjoyment, and therein will be supplied all the necessaries of life to a progeny of the human race that will be more numerous,

more enlightened and liberal, and enjoying a fairer distribution of wealth, labour, and instruction, than the present order of things admits.

Our faith, however, is more sublime, and our hopes more sanguine yet. This is an eternally progressive world, though each stage may be millions of years in length. There may be faculties and capabilities of the human mind to be yet developed, and the tide of civilisation returning to the land of its birth is not there to be eventually arrested. From this land, it may again set itself in motion, and resume its natural tendency westwards; and the world may in the successive epochs of progress be the cradle of successive races of moral beings, angelic in prescience, skill, and character. Who knows but that what we call the spirits of heaven are but poetic creatures, without "a local habitation and a name," who are none others but the inhabitants of some other planet, who have attained to a progress two or three epochs in advance of mankind? And what is there to prevent us to be like them?

It may be that our speculations deceive us, but the day of effort and endeavour never dies out; and there is perpetually some future before

man, to which he aspires, and some present which he contrives to remedy. We have long passed the idea that we are stationary, unmoving, and unmoved; and there are no signs in the heavens or the earth to declare that we are retrograding. Society is ever pressing onwards, and it is indeed not chimerical when we say that we look forward to a time as to an era attainable, and within our reach, "when all our more glaring and pervading social anomalies shall be amended, when the general aspect of the world shall be that of a contented, virtuous, and progressive state, when of the passions that now run riot in every form of vice no more shall remain than those frailties which are inseparable from human imperfection, and when pain, disease, and destitution shall be reduced to that narrow modicum which science cannot cure, which temperance and forethought cannot escape, and which are inherent in the conditions of a perishable nature—our visions will not be deemed wholly wild or baseless by those who reflect that we are anticipating, not a creation of that which is not, but simply a selection and extension of that which *is*."*

* Greg.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION.

End of the Work.—The Author plainly perceives its defects.—But a first essay is always defective.—The two parts of the Work.—The lessons of both.—India's time for regeneration.—Every individual has a share in the work of regeneration.—It must be fulfilled in spite of all opposition and slander.

And here ends our task. We do not claim much, or even aught, for it, save that of fulfilling the only object of describing the Indian nation with a Native pen,

"And read their history in the nation's eyes";

without which there is much undeserved praise of virtues, and much undue censure for vices. Our effort is feeble and defective to a fault; and while, after travelling so far as to a conclusion, we cast a retrospective glance over the field we have just left behind us, we find many an error of progress, which, were we to commence again, at this stage we feel we could easily avoid and improve upon. Like a young and inexperienced general, marching in foreign

regions, extending "far and wide," and finding, only after reaching his destination, that he could have avoided many a deviation and forced march, which weighed heavily upon his troops, that could otherwise have made a deeper impression upon the enemy; we find, only when coming to the end, after a considerable time, that has gained us much better taste and more pertinent knowledge and information, that we could have attempted to make a far better impression upon the critic and the public. But experience is always later, and knowledge and information gained only with age; and with this plea in our defence, we have ventured to launch forth our little work with all its defects.

Something more, and we are done. The work may seem a medley of thoughts and observations; but to us it appears a consistent whole. In the first part, we have held up a bright character for imitation; in the second, depicted a bright future awaiting us. It rests with Young India to copy the one and realise the other. The lessons we have attempted to inculcate are lessons of hope; the path we have directed to be pursued is the path of success; reliance, activity, determination, perseverance, and earnestness are the guides to lead to this

path. The time is passed for India to lie torpid: it requires a thorough regeneration; and our countrymen have now more than ever to gird up their loins for a battle mightier than they have hitherto fought with the Mahomedans or the Europeans—for a nobler independence than the political, for which their forefathers shed their blood—the independence of the intellect and the soul. This battle may be baffled oft; but to those who fight well it is ever won: honour, advancement, and success may not come to-day or tomorrow; there are chances that disappointment may come oftener, and opposition and slander depress, rather than success buoy up, the heart. There are persecutions to earnestness, checks to progress, and slanders to fame in this world; every one has to pass through this ordeal, and the writer of these pages has not himself been spared the opposition of pretension and hypocrisy even in his first faint cry. But our countrymen need not, as they now do, lose their breath, and cower to savageness of stupidity, superstition, and bigotry; they should rather, in the consciousness of doing right, bid fair to contemn it all. In the contemplation of a future such as awaits India and the world, the thorough-going Indian

will seek an asylum to which the memory of his persecutors or the slanders of his enemies cannot follow him; and will find what is most

to be felt in this country more than
ther, that to him, as to one wheel of
nachine, to produce the motion, is
the task—small and insignificant no
of realising the brighter prospects of
try, and the higher destinies of his

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A.

BABOO HARRISCHANDER MOOKERJI was a gentleman of Calcutta; and the task of collecting the materials of his biography is no easy work for a young man at Bombay. To an English reader, this may sound hyperbolical; but while the facilities afforded in England to travel from one end of the country to another are manifold, in India the railway line is not completed even between Bombay and Surat, a distance of one day by the steam-passage, much less does it afford scope to travel from Bombay to Calcutta, a distance of a fortnight by sea. It was not a little despairing on this account, then, to collect together facts, even such meagre ones as have here been elaborated, for want of more individual information. Add to this, the want of a public library in Bombay, within reach of ordinary means, in which may be found all, or even the more important papers of the different parts of India, and the task would seem repelling to any individual; and the writer would have abandoned it in despair, but for a promise given to the public, of a lecture, before perceiving the difficulties of his sub-

ject or writing a word on it. He had no contact with Baboo Harrischander Mookerji, nor was there to be found a single gentleman in Bombay sufficiently well acquainted with the life and incidents of the Bengâlee Patriot to assist him in his work. Neither did he find it convenient to get access to any of the Calcutta papers, save an occasional sight of the *Hindoo Patriot*. Yet, with all these difficulties, the writer hopes to have succeeded well in collecting the materials, as fully as he could, of the life he has attempted to depict. That there are grounds for this hope, let the following letter from a talented Baboo at Calcutta, to whom the MS. was sent before passing through the press—one who, in addition to his being the fellow-citizen of Baboo Harrischander, was his friend and compeer in life, and after death has proved himself in more than one respect his worthy successor in the cause of India—fully testify:—

LARKIN'S LANE, *25th October* 1862.

DEAR SIR,—Your MS. has at last duly come to hand. * * * In reading the chapters, copies of which you have been so good as to send, I have been really struck to find that a Native of Bombay has been able to collect so much information regarding the life and career of a Bengalee Patriot. I doubt whether some of his intimate friends know so much as has been given by you. One or two points, however, require corrections, which I take the liberty to submit, in the hope that you will receive them with the same kindness of spirit that breathes throughout your writings.

As far as I have been informed, Hurrish was not born an "absolute beggar." Son of a Koolin Brahmin, he did not of course

inherit any patrimony; but his maternal uncle, who was a well-to-do man, used to take care of him. He did not "starve," nor "live in misery," as your statements are likely to lead one to suppose. Always self-reliant and independent-minded, Hurrish did not much relish the life of dependence which he led, and hence his early desire to seek employment. As regards his induction into the Military Audit Office, your information is quite correct; but I think some acknowledgments are due to the late Colonel Goldie, who first discovered Hurrish's latent powers, and never failed to encourage him with friendly advice, reward, and hope.

With regard to his literary career, you have omitted all allusion to his early efforts in the columns of the *Hindoo Intelligencer*, started by Baboo Kasipersad Ghose, the well-known Indian Bard, a contemporary of D.L.R., H. M. Parker, Henry Torrens, &c. Hurrischander also practised public writing in the columns of the *Englishman*, which was then edited by Mr. Cobb Hurry, who in those days was a great friend of the Natives.

Regarding his labours in the Indigo cause, one fact need be recorded, viz. that not only did he defend the Ryots in the columns of the *Patriot*, and expose their wrongs and grievances, but spared no pains to write memorials for them to Government, organise means for procuring legal assistance to them for conduct of cases, and for general advice on the spot; and even went to the length of helping them with money from his own scanty pocket.

In other respects, your picture of Hurrischander is faithful; only I wish you had spelt the great Patriot's name "Hurrish," as we spell it here, and not "Harris," which reads like an English name. In fact, Hurrish himself never spelt his name otherwise than what I have written above. * * *

Trusting this will find you in good health,

I am, yours truly,

KRISTODOP SAUL.

APPENDIX B.

WHILE this work was being prepared for the press, the Deed of Settlement of the Parsee Girls' School Association has been given to the public. We are not indebted to the courtesy of the Secretary for a copy of the little *brochure;* though the statement may be made, without warranting a charge of vanity, that our name is sufficiently public in the Native community to entitle us to a copy of whatever is distributed among the public at large. It is long since that we have set our face against the system which obtains favour with the Association, and publicly condemned more than once their reports, and their weakness and favouritism; and it is perhaps to this that we have to ascribe the neglect of the venerable Secretary. Or perhaps the Deed of Settlement was published exclusively for the members of the Association, with which we can never have anything to do. But be the case as it may, if we have been denied a copy by the old Secretary, we have succeeded in obtaining one from a friend; and we extremely regret to read that the Association has entertained views directly opposed to what we have

been propounding for female amelioration in India: they have bound down posterity to a barbarous notion of theirs, and have not only rendered the prospect of English education as remote as ever, but have actually closed it upon the Parsee community. There is a clause in the Deed which is as noteworthy for its pretension as contemptible for its barbarity:—

"*Fourth.*—That the said Association shall establish and conduct schools in the Town and Island of Bombay, and (if funds permit) at other places in the Bombay Presidency, for imparting education to Parsee girls, professing the religion of Zoroaster; and such education shall consist of instruction in arithmetic, reading and writing, useful knowledge, industrial occupations and pursuits, handiwork and arts adapted to Parsee females, domestic economy, the principles of morality and the religion of Zoroaster, and grammar, geography, history and science shall also be taught; and such instruction shall be communicated through the medium of the vernacular language *exclusively*, except instruction in religious knowledge, which may, if deemed advisable by the Committee of Management for the time being, be also communicated in the languages in which the works relating to the religion of Zoroaster are composed."

We do not know who drafted this clause; but a more contemptible piece of hypocritical deception was never practised upon the public. Education at the girls' school consists, in the words of the fourth clause of the Deed of Settlement, of "instruction in arithmetic, reading and writing, useful knowledge, industrial occupations and pursuits, handiwork and arts adapted to Parsee females, domestic economy, the principles of morality and the religion of Zo-

roaster, grammar, geography, history and science"! We may wonder how young girls between the ages of 6 and 11 or 12 are to learn all this. The Secretary's own reports testify that girls leave school just at the age of 11 or 12; and does he expect the public to be simple enough to believe that the long list of subjects he gives in his Deed is got up even by rote at that early age, or does he feel in the heart of his heart that he unflinchingly passes a most impudent piece of deception upon the public? We leave him to choose the alternative.

It may be argued that the list of subjects is prospective, and will obtain currency when the schools become developed. If so, why is instruction at the schools ordained to be "through the medium of the vernacular language exclusively"? The schools may in time be so developed as to admit of an English education without the least difficulty, and why should the Association exclude it by rendering the barbarous Hindoo language the "*exclusive*" medium of instruction to the girls?

We know what the girls are really taught: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and reduction and the rule of three in some cases; crotchet-knitting in its commonest forms, and sewing; doggerel-chanting, and reading some four Gujarati books of elementary instruction. As for useful knowledge, and industrial occupations and arts, and the rest, they are talismanic words, to delude the public. Geography they know as cleverly as that China is

north of India, and England south of Bombay, and principles of morality are taught by youngsters on 15 and 20 rupees a month, so tersely as soon to enable them to write *billets doux!* We are sorry to speak so harshly of the Association and their system; but our words were as harsh in 1860, when we first took up the cudgels against them, as they are in 1863. Female education ought now to be fully developed among the Parsees; in the beginning the means were small, and the task was in the hands of the young men of our College—all honour to them! —who made a commencement only after begging girls and instructing them morning and evening —their leisure hours. The thing was new, with Old Bombay arrayed against it. Now, we have the Association of the most influential and wealthy gentlemen of Bombay, and the funds accruing; and in adventitious circumstances like these it is the duty of the Secretary to at once proceed to impart English education. There is now no prejudice against female education, and there are young gentlemen who, if only courteously asked, would be ready to devote their leisure in imparting a knowledge of the English language and science to Parsee girls. What objection, then, can the Association have to inaugurate measures for the amelioration of Parsee females? Surely none. But the unwillingness and objection lies not with the *Shetias*, who are simple-minded, and as easy to be won to one side as to the other, but with the very gentlemen whom we should

expect to be active. The fact is, there is in Bombay a sort of semi-barbarous delinquent, who, with notions as old as thirty years past, with an inkling of English education, obtained thirty years ago, presents a queer appearance in every subject of importance. He has had a little of English enlightenment, and he cannot therefore be wholly orthodox; he likes reform; but he has not been of the modern generation, so that he hates thorough reform, and stops at those half measures, which make him ridiculous in the eyes of the young-born of the age, and contemptible in those of the orthodox generation. This semi-barbarous delinquent has been in intimate contact with the Girls' Schools Association, and it is he who arrests its progress.

It may be said that the Association has not funds sufficient to carry out a scheme of English education. We have hinted that there are to be found voluntary teachers, and the difficulty of the funds might be thereby obviated. But yet we ask, what right had they to ordain the education of the Parsee girls to be in the vernacular exclusively, now, and henceforth? They have made several prospective regulations: what is it then but misguidance not to form any prospective resolve for English education? If they could provide for contingencies in the future, they ought as well to provide for English education, should circumstances admit. Here we have two clauses for future contingencies:—

"*Seventeenth.*—That the education imparted in the schools of

the said Association shall for the present be gratuitous and without any charge; but if at any time the income of the Association be insufficient to meet the expenditure necessary for conducting and maintaining all or any of the said schools with efficiency; or otherwise, if at any time the said Committee of Management may consider it expedient or necessary, they shall be at liberty to charge school fees at such rates and under such rules or restrictions as they may think desirable.

"*Eighteenth.*—That the said Committee shall be at liberty to purchase such lands or houses, or erect and build such house or houses, in such locality or localities, in the Island of Bombay, or elsewhere in the Presidency of Bombay, as they may think fit, for the use of the schools of the said Association; and the Trustees shall, in such cases, at the request of the said Managing Committee, invest the funds of the said Association (other than the permanent investments and endowments mentioned in sections twenty-five and twenty-six of these presents) in the purchase of such lands or houses, and in the erection of such house or houses; and such lands, houses and buildings shall be deemed personal estate, and part of the capital of the said Association, and shall be conveyed to and vested in the Trustees of the said Association; and the said Committee shall have the power of selling such lands, houses, and buildings, or any of them, or any part thereof, whenever they may deem it advisable so to do, either by public auction or private contract; and upon every such sale the Trustees shall, by the direction of the said Committee, duly convey and assure the property sold to the purchaser or purchasers thereof."

In imitation of these clauses, the Association could have made the education of their schools vernacular *for the present*, if they chose; but, as they have now resolved, they have decided on being barbarous for fifty years to come!

00038004

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018